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The Antiquities of Heraldry.

THE
Antiquities of Heraldry,

COLLECTED FROM THE LITERATURE, COINS, GEMS, VASES, AND
OTHER MONUMENTS OF

PRE-CHRISTIAN AND MEDIÆVAL TIMES;

WITH A CATALOGUE OF

Early Armorial Seals:

TENDING TO SHOW THAT MODERN HERALDRY EMBODIES OR IS DERIVED
FROM THE RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS, THE MILITARY DEVICES, AND THE
EMBLEMS OF THE HEATHEN DEITIES OF ANTIQUITY.

BY

WILLIAM SMITH ELLIS, ESQ.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.



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PREFACE.

Never perhaps did an Art or Practice exist which has excited so much enthusiasm in proving its Antiquity, or so *great a disregard of facts* which invalidate that opinion.—*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*; art. "Heraldry."

THE title page of this work contains a sufficient apology for its appearance before the public. In this volume are brought together a very much larger collection of new facts on the subject than has ever before appeared in any work on Heraldry; and whilst the collocation and treatment of old facts is also new, no work has ever discussed the subject inductively so fully or widely, or employed the views and arguments which are here exhibited for the first time.*

* The author wrote an octavo pamphlet of 23 pages in 1853, which was published by the publisher of the present work, entitled *A Plea for the Antiquity of Heraldry*, to which was prefixed the following table of

CONTENTS.

Hereditary family arms prevalent in all ages and countries—The colours and devices painted on the bodies and shields of savages, distinctions of tribes and clans, originally the personal adoption of chieftains, transmitted from father to son, and to succeeding tribes, the origin, for the most part, of all subsequent national and family arms—The "parti-coloured shields" of the ancient Germans, mentioned by Tacitus, of this character, and all such, and similar modern armorial bearings, an unbroken inheritance from the Teutonic chiefs—Modern European blazonry, being these alone, or in composition with other devices of subsequent adoption, or of ancient inheritance from the nations of antiquity, the whole varied infinitely by colour,

The two most important works of recent times on Heraldry, are Mr. Boutell's *English Heraldry, Historical and Popular*, and Mr. Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*. They are both copious volumes, highly instructive and valuable; both didactic, and full of well digested information, derived from authentic sources; but argumentative only on points of detail and minor interest, and do not indulge in any discussion, except in the briefest manner, about the antiquity of Heraldry, avoiding altogether the wide and multifarious aspects of the Science which are treated of in the following pages.

form, number, and modes of display—National arms, in general, originally personal—Testimonies to the existence of family heraldry among the ancients, with instances; its hereditary character—Many Welch coats of arms probably of Roman-British origin—The scanty notices to be met in the remains of ancient and mediæval literature, as numerous relatively as those to be found in the literature of the present day—Prevalent erroneous notions of modern heraldry refuted—Arms borne at the Conquest proved by a *reductio ad absurdum*—as a rule hereditary—changed only on marrying a heiress, or a wife of superior rank—"Differences" not arbitrarily assumed, but taken from the maternal or uxorial coat—The family and national ensigns of subjugated nations, except in few cases, discontinued or prohibited, and now unknown—The horse prevalent in Anglo-Saxon blazonry, in Anglo-Norman arms very rare, an indirect proof of the existence of the former—Canting arms generally taken by *novi homines*—Family relationship alone, and not the feudal connection (which was a coincidence not the cause) the source of new coats of arms.

This it will be seen is the germ of the present work. It was noticed by the Editor of the *Herald and Genealogist* in the number for March, 1865, in the introductory remarks of an intended series of articles on the "Origin and Development of Coat Armour," by himself, and the prominent views embodied in it were considered unsound and untenable. This induced the author to take up his pen to justify his propositions, purposing to make that periodical the vehicle of his enlarged and amended "Plea;" but he found his new facts and arguments assume such proportions, that he abandoned that intention, and resolved to place before the public in an independent volume this very considerable expansion of his earlier opinions, that a judgment might be arrived at upon the issues raised between the author and writers of opposite views.

But both these writers, as well as their more immediate and noteworthy predecessors, Mr. Montagu, who wrote a thin and elegant quarto, entitled a *Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, and Mr. Lower, who published an illustrated octavo volume of a popular and entertaining character, called *Curiosities of Heraldry*, together with many authoritative authors of Heraldic and Genealogical articles in the Archæological Journals,—all profess the same opinions substantially on the question of the era of the origin of Modern or Mediæval Heraldry, viz., that it must be sought for no earlier than the middle of the 12th century, and that it had no antecedent existence, and was not in any way derived from the devices used by the Ancient Greeks and Romans, or other nations of antiquity.

Two more recent authors, belonging to the preceding category, must however be separately distinguished, as having devoted more especial attention to the early history of the Science, and discussed its pretensions to antiquity, with the result in both instances of coinciding in the judgment just mentioned, as arrived at by the preceding authors. These are Mr. Planché, who wrote a small work, *Heraldry founded on Facts*, and Mr. Nichols, Editor of the *Herald and Genealogist*, who in the number for March 1865 of that periodical, began a series of articles on the “Origin and Development of Coat Armour.” As these two gentlemen have uttered the most salient *dicta* on the subject, their opinions will receive detailed examination in the following pages.

This concurrence of all the influential inquirers into the subject during the last twenty years, and the absence of any work advocating opposite views, gives an appearance of soundness and truth to theories that are thus unopposed, and that no one has ventured to controvert. Yet the Annals of Literature testify to many

cases where a succession of writers follow each other in the same track, and for a long period move in the same groove, without their course being diverted; till at length a new way is opened up, and men's thoughts are turned into a channel that hitherto has been neglected, or not fully explored. That this should be the case at any time on the subject in question, it required little sagacity to predict; as any theory of a negative character may be destroyed by a fresh discovery, by new facts, or by new arguments, that give to old facts the force of the most cogent circumstantial evidence.

The critical spirit of the last quarter of a century justly rejected the unwarranted theories that had been handed down; and dissatisfied with opinions founded on insufficient evidence, or none at all, has passed from one extreme to another. Formerly we had conjectures without facts; now we have facts without conjectures. A comparison of facts, arguments from the seen to the unseen, from the known to the unknown,—are eschewed and forbidden. Speculations are regarded as delusive; inferences are uncertain; probabilities and analogies are not conclusive, and afford no demonstration. Such is the creed of the recent writers on Heraldry. They want facts and facts only. All reasoning, save the direct and positive evidence that will satisfy children, is worthless in their eyes. They will believe the stars they can see and count with the naked eye in the firmament of heaven; they believe in none others. What vestiges of the structures, of the arts, of the customs of antiquity, that have come down to us and escaped the ravages of time, are evidence *pro tanto*, but not farther.*

* As a general rule we are disposed to consider unreasonable scepticism as much the besetting sin of modern literary criticism, as indiscriminating credulity was of the ancient.—*Saturday Review*, June 20, 1868, p. 287.

Such is the childish simplicity, whose conceptions do not range beyond its observations, that has pervaded grave and sober investigations into the origin and history of a Science whose foundations are in reality laid deep and wide ; but whose superstructure the superficial observer ignorantly fancies is wholly unlike anything of the kind in ancient times, and was built of entirely new materials, on a soil which had never before known the impress of the hand of man.

And in this spirit, it is complacently believed that the true origin of Mediæval Heraldry has been explored and its foundations traced ; that notwithstanding it is admitted that devices on shields and banners are co-extensive with war, during the long and dreary period of the Dark Ages, when nothing prevailed but ignorance and fighting, the customs of antiquity were dis-used, but that the Tournaments of the 10th and 11th centuries were the exclusive occasions of their use for an especial and temporary purpose ; that otherwise they were abandoned and laid aside, but that in the middle of the 12th century, for some unexplained reason, the fashion was again instituted by a few, like the incipient use of wigs and hair powder, and gradually increased, till in the 13th century every Baron and Knight throughout Europe bore a device on his shield, his banner, and his seal.

Philology, Archæology, and Science generally, have recently made such rapid strides, not so much by new discoveries, as by a bolder and more unprejudiced view of the relations and significance of known facts. In this way Cuvier has been dethroned by Darwin ; the old school of Geologists has been supplanted by Lyell and his followers ; in Natural Theology, Jowett, Lewes and others have shaken faith in Paley ; Ethnology is becoming a science, and the Pre-historic Man is no longer

a dream and a fancy. Of all the numerous and interesting branches of Archæology, Heraldry alone, or the History of Symbolism, has made no advance, and received no elucidation from an enlarged spirit of inquiry, from wider views, and a more extended generalization.

And yet what more interesting investigation can engage the archæologist than that afforded by the Pictorial Language of Mankind—by those symbols and emblems that have in all ages appealed so forcibly to the passions and imaginations of men—that have stirred their hearts and kindled their emotions, often more powerfully than spoken words—that have excited their religious enthusiasm, and inflamed their warlike propensities? Heraldry, even in its present contracted sense, the study of Coins, of Gems, and Emblematical Vases,—all here combine to elucidate the meaning and history of those mysterious symbols that have held and still hold such a marvellous influence over the minds of men.

But though in war, as practised by civilized nations, the custom of bearing personal devices has ceased, the partiality for family and individual emblems, is as strong as ever; and that for reasons that must ever prevail,—as ornamental distinctions of rank, as evidence of ancestral fame, as expressive of character, and of a sentiment. A word, a monogram, can never supply the place or answer the purpose of a device, even with an entirely educated people, because the latter has an expression and affords a pleasure of which verbal language is incapable. A symbolical picture interests every eye, and as Quarles says, an emblem is a speaking parable. Accordingly the modern trade-mark is almost invariably emblematical and pictorial; and the ornamental tastes of the age have, amongst various displays of it, given a prominence to heraldic insignia on note paper, or in its absence, to decorative monograms.

In the United States of America, social practice is at variance with republican simplicity; and a passion to display "family arms" characterises a people whose democratic instincts repudiate every feudal habit or institution except this one; but unfortunately their usage wholly ignores the chief attribute of feudal heraldry,—distinction; for an American *novus homo* seizes upon and exhibits a coat of arms borne by a family of the same name, but of wholly different lineage, or of a resembling name, so as to create the impression of descent from an English armigerous family; in like manner as it is the ambition of every family in England which seeks to display genealogical and heraldic honours, to claim descent from some Norman Knight "who came over with the Conqueror."

Heraldry is not destined like Alchemy, Astrology, and other obsolete studies, to fall into desuetude; as a branch of Archæology, it will doubtless receive more attention and excite more interest than heretofore; and as a Practical and every day Art, it is destined probably socially and artistically to be cultivated, but in different modes of display, as widely, and as fondly, as in the most flourishing period of Chivalry,—as in the times of Edward the third, and Richard the second, when it reached the highest pitch of ornamental excellence, and was numbered among the domestic glories and social pageantries of the nobles and knights of the age. But, if in one essential and important feature, its future use is to disregard the regulations observed five centuries since; and capricious assumption, and a flagrant and unwarranted appropriation, are to characterize it, as in many instances is and has been the case,—the practice of using a Coat of Arms or Crest will degenerate into a Mockery and a Burlesque. To use armorial bearings that for centuries have been the privilege, indeed the property of

another family, a usurpation once punishable by laws or custom, that have only fallen into desuetude, would be regarded with as much derision as the arbitrary assumption of an honoured Name or of a Title, were it not unfortunately a practice too common, and one which the Earl Marshal has long since ceased to notice.

What Law has ceased to punish, it is to be hoped hereafter Society will discountenance and treat with contempt, as it does other unfounded pretensions. Any man whose social position entitles him to the distinction, in default of hereditary right, may obtain a Grant of a Coat of Arms and Crest from the College of Arms, which he may use as justly, if not as proudly, as a descendant of a Knight whose banner may have fluttered at the siege of Caerlaverock 500 years since. Those who do not choose to take that course may adopt the plan pursued and sanctioned by a high authority four centuries ago, viz. Dame Julian Berners, who in the *Boke of St. Albans* published in 1486, says:—"Armys bi a mannys auctorite taken (*if another man have not borne theym afore*) be of strength enough." Or they may follow another practice then prevalent,—take the arms of some ancestor, with some variation of colour or additional charge. There are few persons who, after investigation, would not find that they had some female lineal ancestor who was of gentle blood; and it would be far juster and more appropriate to assume the arms of her family, with some prominently distinctive charge, or addition, than to bear the coat-armour of a family of the same name, but of wholly different ancestry. Such a coat, changing one of the tinctures to purpure or vert (which are very rarely met with in ancient arms) with a canton bearing the ensigns of the county where the assumer was born (as the white horse of Kent for instance) or in the appropriate cases, the harp of Ireland, or the thistle of Scot-

land, or a prominent charge in the achievement of a company or Corporation of which he is a member,—a coat of arms so composed, would be peculiar, eminently fitting, and invade the rights of no other family.

I have deviated from the custom, in printing books, of giving extracts in the same type as the author's text, and adopted the practice of the Quarterly Reviews in that respect. I think the reader is entitled to see at a glance what is written by the author and what is not; this distinction is a relief to the eye, and even to the mind. We are well content in the pages of a Macaulay, a Mill, and a Lecky, to see the facts they adduce embodied in eloquent and convincing periods, and to meet with no check in the smooth and onward flow of their rhetoric; but lengthy quotations, if not obviously distinctive, baulk the reader's expectations, and impede his discrimination.

Unequal labour and research have been employed on the different chapters of this work. To Chapters VIII IX and X, which are the results of inquiries and collections spread over many years, I think, from the present state of our accessible materials, not many important additions could be made. In chapter IV, I think my predecessors have exhausted all the sources of information which ancient Classic Literature furnishes; and this I have embodied; but as regards the information to be gained from Coins, and Gems, and Vases, that would illustrate Heraldry, it is almost boundless. I make no pretension to acquaintance with either of these three kinds of memorials of antiquity; each forms a study of itself, and an inexhaustible study, and gives ample employment to special students. Should any of them, from looking over these pages, be more forcibly impressed with the heraldic character of the objects of their knowledge, such conviction would give them a new sig-

nificance, and in their hands they would receive a fuller interpretation, and their new relation be more clearly traced.* Chapter V is an entirely new feature in Heraldic works; but I think I have shown the bearing of Heraldry on Mythology, and that Mythology can be elucidated by a branch of knowledge never hitherto considered to be at all connected with it. The first three chapters I found, after they were printed, I could considerably enlarge. The remaining chapters were written during the progress of the work through the press, and embody many facts and arguments that would have their right place in other chapters; and often, from the nature of the subject, repeat facts and arguments mentioned elsewhere; but this is inseparable from a complete view, in accordance with the title of a chapter.

The range my inquiries have taken would, to do justice to the whole subject, necessitate yet further very considerable research. Books of Voyages and Travels constitute a voluminous branch of Literature, and if explored, would furnish a vast addition to the few facts I have collected respecting the armorial insignia of semi-barbarous tribes, as well as of civilized peoples, as also of the practice of Tattooing and Totems. But this would involve prolonged labour, and cause the indefinite postponement of the work. Some new books, and others that would elucidate the subject, I have seen too late to make use of in the following pages.

CHARLWOOD, SURREY.

May 23, 1869.

* A recent review, in a weekly journal of great repute, of a small work on Heraldry sets a much higher value on Numismatics than on Heraldry; but what are coins, gems, and vases, but vehicles for the exhibition of heraldic devices? Numismatics is in fact a branch of the wider science of Heraldry.

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* * For the drawings of all these plates (except 17 and 18) I am indebted to my friend Alfred Shelley Ellis Esq., who unites with his professional skill as an architect, the unusual accompaniment of a thorough and enlightened knowledge of Heraldry; and also for many valuable suggestions throughout the work.

The Antiquities of Heraldry.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ASIATIC AND EGYPTIAN HERALDRY.

PICTORIAL representations of visible objects and of actions, after oral discourse, constituted the earliest mode of communication employed by the primitive races of mankind.* A selection of these pictures of common objects eventually took the form of the letters of the Alphabet (except in the Chinese characters, and the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.) But alphabetic writing, being known and understood by the few only, picture-writing was still the only mode of appeal to the understanding of the many.† The use of distinctive standards in an army for

* In the British Museum amongst the geological remains collected from the valley of the Dordogne, are some good representations of a reindeer's head and other objects carved in bone of the pre-historic period. Some better and more striking illustrations are met with in the Christy Collection.

† Mr. King in his work on *Antique Gems* has the following appropriate observations: "Signet Rings are not mentioned by Homer. The signet of Pharaoh was given to Joseph as a mark of investiture. The signet of Judah was given as a royal pledge. The Temple of Belus was sealed with the royal signet. * * The Red Indian has the mark of his nation and that of the individual (his *totem*) to identify his property or his game,—the South Sea islander the tattooed pattern (*amoco*) that distinguishes his family impressed upon his skin. *These simple signets preceded by a long space the invention of hieroglyphics, or any arbitrary signs for denoting ideas:*

§ .

its various divisions, and to denote the place of its leaders, must have been an early necessity in the art of war. The employment of different coloured materials for banners, and of the figures of emblematical animals and objects on standards, thus naturally, indeed necessarily arose. This use of symbols would extend to those early appliances of warfare, the shield and the helmet. Symbols that thus had been associated with victory and renown would become cherished and sacred, and hence would be introduced in religious rites and ceremonies.

In this way doubtless originated, and afterwards was developed that multifarious assemblage of symbols and devices which are found connected with War and Religion in all ages and countries ; which have been the rallying points and guiding stars of armies and peoples ; for which nations have fought and suffered ; which have influenced their destinies, and enslaved their minds ; excited their fiercest animosities, and kindled their warmest enthusiasm.

It is these emblems historically deduced and classified, according to Nations, and Races and Families, which constitute the Science of Heraldry in the largest acceptation of the word. It is accordingly its province to trace their use through succeeding ages, to investigate their origin, to ascertain by whom, on what occasions, and how they were employed, and what rules and conditions governed their adoption in different times and countries.

The information to be obtained from ancient writers concerning representative Devices is comparatively scanty : coins, vases, gems and sculptured monuments furnish us with the most extensive as well as the most certain knowledge on the subject.

The earliest known record is to be found in the Bible, where we read (Numbers ii. 2) " Every man shall pitch

for the earliest Assyrian cylinders have nothing but rude figures cut upon them, and bear none of those cuneiform inscriptions so frequently added to the design upon those of later date. And this later date is yet prior by some centuries to the first appearance of any thing like an engraved stone amongst the first civilized nations of Europe."

by his own standard with the ensign of his father's house."

The following explanatory note on this text is taken from the *Pictorial Bible** and embodies information on the subject in general that may be fitly introduced at this early stage of our inquiry.

The invention of standards is attributed by ancient authors to the Egyptians; and this with great probability, as they had the earliest organized military force of which we have any knowledge; we may therefore feel tolerably certain that the Hebrews had the idea of at least the use of ensigns from the Egyptians, for it is not at all likely that the small body of men which originally went down into Egypt had any such articles, or any occasion for them. Diodorus informs us that the Egyptian standards consisted of the figure of an animal at the end of a spear. Among the Egyptian sculptures and paintings there also appear other standards, which either resemble at top a round-headed table knife, or an expanded semicircular fan. These latter are attributed to the Græco-Egyptians: but we are unable to find any satisfactory data to show that they were other than varieties of most ancient Egyptian standards. The early Greeks employed for a standard a piece of armour at the end of a spear; but Homer makes Agamemnon use a purple veil with which to rally his men. The Athenians afterwards, in the natural progress which we observe in the history of ensigns, adopted the olive and the owl; and the other Greek nations also displayed the effigies of their tutelary gods, or their particular symbols, at the end of a spear. Some of them had simply the initial letter of their national name. The ancient Persian standard is variously described. It seems properly to have been a golden eagle at the end of a spear, fixed upon a carriage. They also employed the figure of the sun, at least on great occasions, when the king was present with his forces. Quintus Curtius mentions the figure of the sun, inclosed in crystal, which made a most splendid appearance above the royal tent. We therefore presume it was the grand standard, particularly as even at this day, when Mohammedanism has eradicated most of the more peculiar usages of the Persians, the sun continues to divide with the lion the honour of appearing on the royal standard. Among the very ancient sculptures at Persepolis, we discover specimens of other standards. One sort consists of a staff terminated in a divided ring, and having below a transverse bar, from which two enormous tassels are suspended. The other

* The author of the article "Standards" in Kitto's Bible Encyclopædia, is Lieut. Col. C. Hamilton Smith, K. H. President of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, who says in a note that he intends to publish a volume on the subject, the result of several years' investigation, with many hundred drawings, which "will show how much nations, religious opinions, laws, authority, civilization and war, were influenced by the use of signs and symbols."

consists of five globular forms on a cross bar. They were doubtless of metal, and probably had some reference to the heavenly bodies, which were the ancient objects of worship in Persia. The proper royal standard of that country, however, for many centuries, until the Mohammedan conquest, was a blacksmith's leather apron, around which they had at one time been rallied to a successful opposition against the odious tyranny of Zahawk. Many national standards have arisen from similar emergencies, when that which was next at hand being seized and lifted up as a rallying point for the people, was afterwards, out of a sort of superstitious gratitude, adopted either as the common ensign, or the sacred banner. Thus also originated the horse-tails of the modern Turks, and the bundles of hay at the top of a pole which formed the most ancient Roman standard, as mentioned in the following extract from the Introduction (p. 54) of Dr. Meyrick's splendid work on 'Ancient Armour:'—"Each century, or at least each manipule of troops, had its proper standard and standard-bearer. This was originally merely a bundle of hay on the top of a pole; afterwards a spear, with a cross-piece of wood at the top, sometimes with the figure of a hand above, probably in allusion to the word *manipulus*, and below, a small round or oval shield, generally of silver or of gold. On this metal plate were usually represented the warlike deities, Mars or Minerva; but, after the extinction of the commonwealth, the effigies of the emperors and their favourites: it was on this account that the standards were called *numina legionum*, and held in religious veneration. The standards of different divisions had certain letters inscribed on them to distinguish the one from the other. The standard of a legion, according to Dio, was a silver eagle with expanded wings, on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in its claws; hence the word *aquila* was used to signify a legion. The place for this standard was near the general, almost in the centre. Before the time of Marius figures of other animals were used. The vexillum, or flag of the cavalry, was, according to Livy, a square piece of cloth, fixed to a cross bar at the end of a spear." These flags had sometimes fringes and ribands, and were used less restrictedly than Dr. Meyrick seems to state. The divisions of a legion had also their particular ensigns, sometimes simply attached to the end of a spear, but sometimes fixed below the images. An infantry flag was red: a cavalry one, blue; and that of a consul white. As to the *hand* on the Roman standard, we may observe that at this day the flag-staff of the Persians terminates in a silver hand, as that of the Turks does in a crescent. After Trajan's conquest of the Dacians, the Romans adopted as a trophy the dragon, which was a general ensign among barbarians. The dragons were embroidered in cotton, silk, or purple. Mention is also made of *pinnae*, which seem to have been aigrettes of feathers of different colours, intended for signals or rallying points. Animals also, fixed upon plinths, with holes through them, are often found; and were ensigns intended to be placed upon the ends of spears. After this rapid glance at ancient standards, it remains to ask, to which of all these classes of ensigns that of the Hebrews approached the nearest? We readily confess that we do not know: but the

Rabbins, who profess to know everything, are very particular in their information on the subject. They leave out of view the ensigns which distinguished the subdivisions of a tribe, and confine their attention to the tribe standards: and in this it will be well to follow their example. They by no means agree among themselves; the Rabbins suppose that the standards of the Jewish tribes were flags, bearing figures derived from the comparisons used by Jacob in his final prophetic blessing on his sons. Thus they have Judah represented by a lion, Dan by a serpent, Benjamin by a wolf, etc. But as long since observed by Sir Thomas Browne ('Vulgar Errors,' book 5, ch. 10) the escutcheons of the tribes, as determined by these ingenious triflers, do not in every instance correspond with any possible interpretation of Jacob's prophecy, nor with the analogous prophecy of Moses when about to die. The later Jews were of opinion that, with respect to the four grand divisions, the standard of the camp of Judah represented a lion; that of Reuben, a man; that of Joseph, an ox; and that of Dan, an eagle; this was under the conception that the appearance in the cherubic vision of Ezekiel alluded to this division. The Targumists, however, believe that the banners were distinguished by their colours, the colour for each tribe being analogous to that of the precious stone, for that tribe, in the breast-plate of the high priest; and that the great standard of each of the four camps combined the three colours of the tribes which composed it. They add, that the names of the tribes appeared on the standards, together with a particular sentence from the law; and were moreover charged with appropriate representations, as of the lion for Judah, etc. Aben Ezra and other Rabbins agree with the Targumists in other respects, but put in other representations than the latter assign. Lastly the Cabbalists have an opinion that the bearings of the twelve standards corresponded with the months of year, and the signs of the zodiac—the supposed characters of the latter being represented thereon; and that the distinction of the great standards was, that they bore the cardinal signs of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricorn, and were also charged with each one letter of the tetragrammaton, or quadrilateral name of God.

Thus much for Rabbinical interpretation. Most modern expositors seem to incline to the opinion that the ensigns were flags, distinguished by their colours, or by the name of the tribe to which each belonged. This is certainly as probable in itself as anything that can be offered; unless the instances we have given from the early practice of other nations do not lead to the conclusion that flags were not the earliest but the ultimate form which standards assumed. We have in most instances seen them preceded by any object that would serve for a distinguishing mark—such as leathern aprons, wisps of hay, pieces of armour, and horsetails; then by metallic symbols and images, combined sometimes with feathers, tassels, and fringes; and then plain or figured flags of linen or silk. Besides, the interpretation we have cited is founded on the hypothesis that all sculpture, painting, and other arts of design were forbidden to the Hebrews; and as we are not quite prepared to admit the existence of such a prohibition, we do not feel absolutely bound,

unless on its intrinsic probability, to receive an explanation which takes it for granted.

The monumental and other remains of the Egyptians and Assyrians are the next, and equally early, if not earlier sources of our acquaintance with the emblems and devices used by these nations. Sir G. Wilkinson in his work on the Ancient Egyptians speaking of their armies says (i. 294) "Each battalion, and indeed each company had its particular standard, which represented a sacred subject, a king's name, a sacred boat, an animal or *some emblematical device*." And he informs us in another place (i. 332) "Among the arms painted in the tomb of Rameses III. is a piece of defensive armour, which seems to have been a sort of coat or covering for the body: it is made of a rich stuff worked or painted with the *figures of lions or other animals*, devices common upon the shield and other parts of Greek armour, and is edged with a neat border." And Dr. Birch in his *History of Pottery* (i. 89) says that on the Egyptian vases were represented lions, emblems of Phtha and Pasht, the dog and jackal emblems of Anubis, cats, the emblems of Bast, the bull of Apis, the pig of Typhon, the hedgehog and hares, sacred animals of Osiris Anuphis, the vulture, emblem of Mut, ibis of Thoth, flowers, lotus, and papyrus."

Sir G. Wilkinson, in his work on Egypt, says "Some of the oldest ceilings, as at a tomb near Osioot, show that the chevron (so common in Egyptian baskets and vases) together with the chequer as well as the scroll and guilloche patterns, ascribed too hastily to the comparatively modern Greeks, were adopted in Egypt more than 2000 years before our era."

In another chapter will be mentioned examples from Assyrian monuments of almost all the figure-less patterns prevalent in mediæval blazonry. That the Assyrians used also emblems of animals and significant objects and various sacred symbols, the plates and pages of Layard amply testify. The bull, the eagle, and the lion in colossal size, are well-known symbols of this people. Amongst the sacred emblems we find a cross precisely of the same form as sculptured on A. Saxon memorial stones

and on stone coffin-lids; a wheel, the crescent, star and cinqfoil. A shell or leaf ornament is frequent, within which are 5 chevrons, and the chevron ornament is everywhere embroidered on the robes of the King. In Plate 27 of Layard's folio work, there occur *on a shield*, a mullet, a crescent, and a cinqfoil. In Plate 31, on a shield, are a mullet *pierced*, 6 roundels and a crescent. Amongst the painted bricks of Nineveh is one on which are represented two warriors with *blue shields*, edged by a band of alternate squares of blue and yellow [heraldically, *azure, a bordure gobonated, or and azure*].* On another the greaves of a warrior are coloured blue, yellow, and white.†

The devices on the Assyrian cylindrical seals more generally represent actions than single objects. Of the latter Dr. Birch‡ mentions Terra Cotta Deeds, sealed with cylindrical seals, made of chalcedony, cornelian, etc., one being a bull's head coupé, another the figure of apparently a horse.

But it is in India where the evidences of symbolism amongst the Asiatics are most abundant, most varied, and of a kind showing the strongest affinity to mediæval blazonry. From the plains of Central Asia, from the land of the Hindoo, originated those sacred emblems, those military ensigns—the germs of religious worship,—the ideas, the language, the multifarious mythologies,§ and most of the arts and customs which have overspread both hemispheres, and surely testify that the dominant races of mankind sprang from one source and one

* In the sculptures of Khorsabad the round shield is often highly ornamented. It resembles both in shape and the devices upon it, the bucklers *now carried by the Kurds and Arabs*. (Layard's *Nineveh*, ed. in 2 vol. ii. 345.)

† Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon, by A. H. Layard, 1853, p. 167.

‡ Hist. of Pottery i. 115.

§ The evidence which the Science of Comparative Mythology furnishes for the unity of the human race seems at present to be in advance of that which is afforded by the science of language. On no other supposition can we explain the wealth of legends common to Greek Teuton and Norsemen with the negro tribes of equatorial Africa. (Edinburgh Review Jan. 1862, p. 101.)

land, from the great primitive Aryan race,* progenitors of the Celtic, Teutonic, and other nations. Colonel Tod's learned and elaborate work on the *Annals of Rajahstan* may perhaps be first fitly examined, as containing numerous notices of the existence of armorial symbols in ancient India. Speaking of "the martial Rajpoots" (i. 137) this author remarks that they "are not strangers to armorial bearings. The great banner of Mewar† exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field; those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Amber displays the *pan-changra* or five-coloured flag. The Lion rampant on an argent field is extinct with the state of Chanderi. The use of armorial bearings among the Rajpoot tribes can be traced anterior to the War of Troy. In the Mahabharat or Great War 1200 B.C. we find the hero Bheesama exulting over his trophy, the banner of Arjoona, its field adorned with the figure of the Indian Hanuman (monkey deity). In Rajpootana the feudal system existed, analogous to that in mediæval Europe, and had its incidents,—military service, escuage, fiefs and sub-infeudation (i. 128). The peacock was the favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warrior; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kamara) as it was to Juno his mother in the west

* "The heraldry of Europe has evidently derived its origin from the east, and it was intimately associated with religion and superstition. Maurice observes that by the same hardy race—the descendants of the Tartar tribes, which tenanted the north of Asia—were introduced into Europe armorial bearings, which were originally nothing more than hieroglyphical symbols, mostly of a religious allusion, that distinguished the banners of the potentates of Asia. The eagle belongs to the ensign of Vishnoo, the bull to that of Siva, and the falcon to that of Rama. The sun rising behind a recumbent lion blazed on the ancient ensign of the Tartars, and the eagle of the sun on that of the Persians. The Humza, or famous goose, one of the incarnations of Boodha, is yet the chief emblem of the Burman banners. The Russians, no doubt, had their standard from the eastern nations; it is the type of Garuda. The Islamites took the crescent, a fit emblem of a rising or declining empire and of their primeval worship."—From a paper read at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, March 19, 1835, (*Gent's Mag.*, April, 1835, p. 415).

† The princes of Mewar were the legitimate heirs of the throne of Rama, first of the 36 Royal Tribes (i. 211).

(i. 51). The emblem of Vishnu is Garuda, or the Eagle, and the Sun-God both of the Egyptians and Hindoos is typified with the eagle's head. Chrisna was of the celebrated tribe of Yadu, the founder of the 36 tribes, who obtained the universal sovereignty of India, and lived about 1200 B.C. These 36 tribes had their respective emblems, as the Serpent, the Horse, Hare, etc. Budha was the chief deity until Chrisna was placed among the Gods, as an incarnation of Vishnu or the Sun. The Jains, the chief sect of the Budhists, were untinged with idolatry until the apotheosis of Chrisna, whose mysteries superseded the simpler worship of Budha. Budha's descendants, the Indus, preserved the ophite sign of their race (the serpent) when Chrisna's followers adopted the eagle as their symbol. The serpent is alike the symbol of the Budha of the Indus, the Hermes of the Egyptians, and the Mercury of the Greeks. In Sanscrit the same word means Soul, Goose and Swan (i. 532).

There were constant wars between the children of the Sun (Surya) and the Tak or Tak-sha (serpent) races. The Suryas or sun-worshippers anterior in date to the Indus, worshippers of the moon (ind) as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Scythia* was an-

* The Ionic Hellenes of Attica with their Apollo as worshippers of the Sun, stand in opposition to the ancient Pelasgi as worshippers of the Moon. In India the Pandus came forth victorious after a long struggle with the Kurus; so in Attica the followers of Pandion proved in the end victorious over the Curetes in Crete. * * We can hardly doubt the moon worshippers were originally the ruling party in Attica, whereas the Ionians introduced the worship of the Sun. In Attica as in other places the worship of the moon was long opposed to that of the sun, till at last they were peacefully united in the worship of Pallas and Apollo. (Lockhart's *Attica and Athens*, p. 129.)

The fusion of the Solar and Lunar forms of worship in Greece, though never complete, had yet left among the Hellenic population many doctrines and rites common to both. Notwithstanding, there ever remained a marked distinction between these races of worshippers, in nothing more clearly shown than in the opposite characteristics of the Spartans and Athenians, the deep seated cause of whose mutual jealousy reposed upon religious grounds as connected especially with the tribes of each. (Pococke's *India in Greece*, p. 238.)

tecedent to that of the Agni-cula or Fire-worshippers of the Snake race claiming Tak-shae as their original progenitor. The Suryas, who emigrated both to the east and the west, may be considered the Celtic, as the Indu Gethæ may be considered the Gothic races of India * * The Sauromatia or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Surya-vansi, who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian are enumerated amongst the 36 royal races of India. One of these the Sacaseni, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia adjoining Albania.* * As early as the period of Rama, furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, the tribes of the Sacaseni being recorded as auxiliaries of the priesthood. (i. 558.)

These migrating tribes of course carried with them their respective emblems, and hence the identity of European with many of the Asiatic devices.

The *Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society* furnish unequivocal testimony to the existence of hereditary devices amongst the tribes of Hindostan. In vol. iv. (P. 6) we have a paper on "Hindu Inscriptions" by Walter Elliott Esq.

"Most of these Inscriptions" he remarks "are engraved on great slabs of stone; others are cut on the pillars of temples; a few are taken from deeds engraven on sheets of copper. * * The plain slabs have generally a few symbols engraved above the commencement of the inscription. In the right corner is the sun, in the left is the moon. Below the sun is sometimes found the peculiar ensign or symbol of the party making the grant. Thus the Chalukyas carry the figure of a boar, which was their ensign or signet, and the Yadavas are often distinguished by the representation of a crooked knife or dagger. Underneath the moon is a cow and a calf. In the centre is the chief object of worship of the grantor. The Chalukyas being followers of Siva have the lingam in this situation. * * But most of the grants having been made by individuals of humble rank, they represent some symbol peculiar to them, together with the Ling or a Jain deity. A grant by a Zemindar of Nagavansa in Saka 912 (the era of Saka commenced A.D. 79) exhibits under a represen-

tation of the Sun a cobra-di capello snake, a lingam in the centre, and the cow and calf under that of the moon."

A deed is engraved on a plate of copper with the *figure of a boar*, the distinctive symbol or seal of the Chalukyas family,* the oldest race in the records of the Dekkan, which device was subsequently adopted by the Kings of Vijayanagar. The date of this plate is 609, A.D. Lands are *still*, on similar metallic deeds, granted by them, *bearing the same effigy on the seal*.

The ensigns of Bijala reigning at Kalyan over the Karuatakdes, were the Lion, the Bull, and the Goose (iv. 20).

Simha Deva Yadu Aprina styles himself a Garuda (eagle) to the Serpent-like Bhoja, lord of Pannola. It is remarkable that the Yadu and the Silahara had adopted the golden garuda on their ensign, *which the prince seems unwilling to allow to his feudatory* (P. 34).

Vir Yikraunnca of the Rattas family is styled the great lord of Ujjayani-pur with the *Baniam-Tree Signet* (P. 37).

The Rattas Tribe had the Elephant signet, and the golden hawk and crocodile ensign (iv. 37).

The ensign of the lords of Tagarapursa country bore a golden eagle (ii. 385).

On the images at Masar is the lion rampant, a common badge of Gautama.†

A hymn to Camdeva the God of Love has the line—

Hail Warrior with *a fish on thy banner*.‡

Coins afford abundant as well as authentic information concerning ancient symbols.

* In the Inscriptions recorded when they were at the height of their power the white canopy, the boar signet, the peacock-fan, the royal mace, and the golden sceptre only are mentioned. Of these the boar ensign was the most celebrated, and was the symbol invariably represented on their money and on their seals, sometimes in the latter accompanied by a conch shell, the drum, the peacock-fan and other insignia, as a lotus, an ankus or elephant goad, candelabra, a seat, a stool, etc., and on those of later date a sword. (Journ. of Royal Asiatic Soc. i. 255.)

† Montgomery Martin's Hist. of India i. 415.

‡ Col. Tod's work i. 577.

There are coins found in Upper India having the device of a Boar. This was used by the Rajahs of the Vijyanagar race on their gold coins. The Varahas were a powerful Indo-Scythic tribe to the west of Jesalmer. They took their name from *varaha* (a boar) which was one of the Incarnations of Vishnu.* The *Horse* occurs on Hindoo Coins, and on Coins of Bactria and Ceylon.† It occurs also on some of the coins of the Sak Kings (Kadphises) of Surashtra.‡ This royal race also made use of other emblems. On the reverse of one of their coins is the figure of a Bull recumbent, identical in every respect with the seal symbol of the Vahabhi family as found on their copper-plate Grants.§ Professor Wilson thinks some coins of Kadphises B.C. a few years, with a Sivalic figure, trident and bull on them, are of a Hindu type; but the taurine figure is common to the Grecian, Celtic, and Buddhist as well as to the Hindu systems, and is repeatedly met with on coins with indisputably Buddhist emblems. Coins of Ceylon Amavati, Indo-Sassanian, Indo-Scythic and Kadphises coins even have the monograms or emblems which are found in the Buddhist caves.||

It was the custom of the Eastern Conquerors, in Central Asia at least, to adopt the types of the money of the countries subdued. It has been shown (xvii. 190) that the Khwarizmis, in imitation of their immediate predecessors the Ghoris, made use of the devices of the Horseman, first introduced by the Brahman kings of Kabul, but they also appropriated, subject to but slight modification, the Bull of the Hindoo prototype.**

On a Buddhist temple in China, an ox is sculptured on one pillar, and on another a wheel. The wheel and Bull appear on the numerous Buddhist coins from Affghanistan, Canory, Ongein, and Gujarat.††

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (iv. 672).

† *Ibid.*, p. 626.

‡ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (xii. 26).

§ *Ibid.* (xii. 66).

|| *Ibid.* (vi. 285).

** *Ibid.* (ix. 381).

†† *Ibid.* (vi. 295).

Coins of Azas, the Bactrian king, exhibit the Elephant, the Bull, and the Lion—all Buddhist emblems.*

The great golden bull adored at Meaco in Japan is in the attitude of butting against the egg of Chaos. The mundane egg of Heliopolis is surmounted by the crescent. The two principles of Persia are symbolized by two serpents contending for the mundane egg.†

The Chinese have still a Temple called the Palace of the Bull, and the same symbol is worshipped in Japan, and all over Hindostan. The Cimbrians carried a brazen bull with them as the image of their God when they overran Spain and Gaul, and the name of the God Thor, the Jupiter of the Scandinavians, signified in their language a Bull as it does in the Chaldee. At Upsal, in the great Temple, this God was represented with the head of a bull on his breast; and on an ancient Phenician coin we find a figure exactly resembling the Jupiter of the Greeks, with the words *Baal Thurz* in Phenician characters on the exergue.‡

The plates in Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*, giving representations from ancient Indian Temples and Tombs of the Hindoo Deities, exhibit more especially their mystic religious symbols, all or most of which have been transmitted as sacred through many ages and lands (though probably their real origin and meaning have been often forgotten) and have been employed in mediæval blazonry, and extensively, as we shall see, on the shields of the Greeks and Romans. The sacred Bull, the Yoni, and Lingam (emblems of the reproductive organs, so common in India) everywhere appear, as do the lotus flower (the fleur de lis) and its form at the end of a spear (the trident) and the cinqfoil. This latter appears sometimes as 5 balls pyramid-wise, sometimes in a line, often a row of them forming a necklace or beads, the origin of the rosary, first of the Buddhists, and afterwards of the Roman Catholics.§ In Plate 21, 5 roundels are placed on a

* Numismatic Chronicle, N. Ser. (i. 75).

† Maurice's Indian Antiquities.

‡ Payne Knight's Enquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology, p. 22.

§ A medal found by Dr. Clarke in his travels in the ruins of

circular shield which a warrior holds in his right hand, in his left being a sword, and a cinqfoil on his arms and breast. In Pl. 47, is a round shield with 4 cinqfoils. But 5 balls on a shield occur also in Plates 99 and 101. In Plate 80 is the figure of a Ram on a Banner.

It is remarkable that the crescent rarely appears amongst these symbols, and the star or mullet not at all; though both conjoined had a religious significance with the Assyrians and other nations.

Camdeo the Hindoo God says Sir Wm. Jones (Translations) was apparently the same as Eros and Cupid. He is represented attended by dancing girls or nymphs, the foremost of whom *bears his colours*, which are a *fish on a red ground*.

The ensign of the Hindoo Trinity, was, of Brahma a White Lion, of Vishnu a Blue Eagle, and of Siva a Red Bull. Indra is seen on his Elephant, Brahma on a Goose and Siva on a Bull.

In ancient China, a Duke or General and other high officers of state had each their standard; those of the second rank had one or more dragons depicted on their standards.*

The nine grades of Mandarins, both civil and military, are distinguished by marks. The literary graduates have also their distinctive marks. The several orders of Mandarins are likewise distinguished by their habits. They wear a certain sort of surcoats, embroidered with birds and beasts of different kinds. The Mandarins wear likewise badges which distinguish their employments, containing a Dragon, Eagle, Sun, Leopards, Tigers, Lions, etc.†

But it may well be conceived that in a country where there is now no hereditary aristocracy, whatever there might have been, as probably there was, in ancient times, heraldic distinctions transmitted from father to son would answer no purpose, and be significant of no rank or

Citium and supposed to have been Phenician, exhibits the lamb, the cross and the rosary. (Higgins and O'Brien.)

* Art. on Ancient Chinese Vases in Journal of Roy. Asiatic Soc. (i. 79).

† Collection of Voyages and Travels 4 vol. 4to. 1747.

honour. Accordingly the Chinese, so fond of etiquette, and punctilious in everything pertaining to their social hierarchy, distinguish their various orders and degrees in the state by decorations analogous to our orders of knighthood. Mr. Davis in his work *China and the Chinese* (i. 256) informs us:—

The descendants of the Manchow family wear the yellow girdle.* * At the fall of the last Chinese dynasty a vast number of the ejected family dropped the yellow girdle. The descendants from collaterals, that is, the brothers and uncles of the great Conqueror of the Manchow dynasty, have the privilege of a red sash and bridle. Everything about their dress and equipage is subject to minute regulation. Some are decorated with the peacock's feather, and others allowed the privilege of the green sedan.* * The true aristocracy of China, its official rulers, are of course a constantly fluctuating body.

CHAPTER II.

HERALDRY OF SIMPLE AND MINGLED COLOURS ON
COSTUME, BANNERS AND SHIELDS.

A COLOURED Banner must have been one of the earliest as it was the simplest of Military Ensigns. These simple coloured Banners must, as tribes multiplied, have become parti-coloured by stripes and other linear divisions. The shield would be painted of the same pattern as the flag, and this pattern would eventually become a distinction in dress of one tribe or clan from another.* Of costume so characterized we meet with early Scriptural notices. We read of Joseph's "coat of many colours" and that

* The distinctions produced by different colours have pervaded all the affairs of life, ancient and modern. They characterized the games of the Roman Circus. The different factions of the Hippodrome were distinguished by their colours of white, red, blue, and green: to these Domitian added yellow. The flag used by the Roman infantry was red; that by the cavalry blue, whilst that of a Consul was white.

Matthew Paris informs us that in the Crusade under Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus, the French were distinguished by red crosses, the English by white, and the Flemish by green.

All maritime nations have always had certain marks, signs, or colours to distinguish their vessels. We read in Ezekiel (xxvii. 7) "Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." Pliny tells us that the stern and prow of trading vessels and men of war were without exception decorated with colours; and at Athens, Corinth, and Sicyon, the profession of ship-painters founded the famous school of painters in those cities. The savages of the Pacific and South Seas made use of distinctive signs. Woven reeds were used for sails, and rushes for streamers,—hence the word flag.

"Mordecai went out of the presence of the King in royal apparel of blue and white."*

In the paintings from Nineveh we meet with the parti-coloured patterns technically called in Heraldry,—Chevronny, Mascally, Chequy, Paly, Lozengy, Dancette and Fretty,† as well on cloaks or shawls and tunics, as in

* Esther viii. 15.

† The ornamentation on the arms, implements, and pottery of the Bronze Age is peculiar. It consists of geometrical patterns, straight lines, circles, triangles, zigzags, etc. Animals and vegetables are very rarely attempted, and never with much success. In the ornamentation of the transition period, between the Bronze and Iron Ages, animals are frequently represented, but are very poorly executed, while the geometrical patterns are well done. Of the Iron Age, the character of the ornamentation is very unlike, and much more advanced than that of the Bronze Age.—Paper by Sir John Lubbock Bart. on "Primæval Antiquities" in *Archæological Journal* vol. 23.

The zigzag ornament used so profusely in buildings of the Norman age is also found in buildings of the age of Diocletian.* * Almost every architectural ornament of the ancient Irish edifices has its counterpart in buildings of the most remote antiquity throughout the world.* * The chevron or zigzag ornament abounds among the ruins of America, as it does also in those of Ireland. It is found both straight and curved at Cormac's chapel, and is the commonest as well as richest ornament of Irish doorways. The pellet ornament, or balls, is also found adorning several buildings, from the plain specimens upon the most ancient churches, such as that of Temple Cronan, co. Clare, to the richly ornamented arch, such as the doorway of Aghadoe. They may also be seen adorning the stone doors in the Giant Cities of Bashan. The curved spiral—an imitation of a twisted rope—is found on several ancient Irish crosses.—Keane's *Temples and Towers of Ireland*, p. 284.

The patterns used by the South Sea Islanders in *tatooing* their persons are not arbitrary or capricious; neither are they modern. In the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. 3, is a paper by Mr. Lukis on the Cromlech of Gavv Innis in Brittany. The upright slabs or props in this cromlech, when excavated were found to be nearly all characterized by incised lines, forming patterns resembling the *tatooing* of the New Zealander. There are three or four other cromlechs in Brittany which have such engraved patterns. But in the Channel Islands none of the cromlechs have any ornamental work about them. The New Zealanders, the writer remarks have each their peculiar marks or patterns of tatoo, which they call *amoco*; and though they are unable to write, still they are able to design on each other's face the peculiar tatoo required. In volume 4 of the same *Journal* is given an account of similar figures found in the cairn of New Grange in Ireland, being of a spiral and other patterns. These remarkable facts testify to the great, indeed pre-

architectural ornament. They were all evidently of sacred or traditional meaning, especially the chevronny pattern, as much so as the lotus flower on an Indian Temple, or its modern form the Fleur de lis, in mediæval France.

In Mr. Hope's work on Greek Costume we meet with some of these ; but they are comparatively rare, and evidently not used as fanciful ornaments, but as cherished patterns that imply a latent meaning. In vol. 1 Plate ii. we meet with the Dancette. In Plate 40 a Greek warrior has a Chequy band on his helmet. In Plate 42 it is met with on the head-dress of a Greek lady. In Plate 68 we have the Chevronny pattern on a head-dress, and Lozengy on another. At page 14 we are told that as regards the male attire of the people of Asia Minor their pantaloons were often made of rich and fine tissues embroidered or painted in sprigs, spots, *stripes*, *cheques*, *zigzags*, *lozenges*, or other ornaments.

historic antiquity, if not of the practice of tatooing, yet of the custom of the early tribes of mankind being distinguished by marks or patterns which were hereditary and transmitted to modern times ; and moreover that the primæval settlers of Brittany and Ireland are of the same or cognate race as the savages of the Antipodes. But that the custom of tatooing is as ancient as, if not identical with the known habit of historic barbarians in painting their bodies, there can be little doubt. We learn from Cæsar and Pomponius Mela that it was a custom of the ancient Britons to stain their bodies antecedent to the Roman settlement. Herodian says that "they puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals." It is supposed that those of them in the South under the Roman sway having given up the custom, the term *Picti* (the painted) came to be applied to those in the North who continued the practice, towards the end of the third century ; and that the Roman name was perpetuated by the Welch, the Saxons, and the Irish in their various languages. Isidore a Spanish bishop of the 7th century attributes the name of Picts to the custom mentioned, which was denounced by the Christian preachers as a practice at once heathen and degrading to the human form.

Court de Gebelin in his learned work *Le Monde Primitif* (tome viii.) states that M. Pelloutier "dans son 'Histoire des Celtes' dit il est certain que la plupart des peuples Celtes, les Espagnols, les habitans de la Grande Bretagne, les Thraces, les Illyriens, les Daces, et plusieurs autres avoient la coutume de tracer sur leurs corps des figures de toutes sortes d'animaux," but that the slaves were not so punctured.

In Millin's work, *Peintures des Vases Antiques* (i. 111.) is figured a Greek warrior who has a circular shield, the surface of which is entirely a *chequy* pattern.

The sails of the ancient Egyptian ships exhibit the chequered pattern in colours, with a border of the chevronny pattern.

Polyænus (lib. iv. cap. 3—quoted in Meyrick's great work on Ancient Armour, p. ix.) says that in Persia, Alexander the Great had at his court 500 Persian Archers in different dresses of Yellow, Blue, and Scarlet, before whom stood 500 Macedonians with *silver shields*.

Amongst the ancient Irish, we find difference of colour employed in dress to distinguish one class from another. The following remarks are illustrative of this:—

We possess unmistakeable evidence of our native population having adopted particular colours, of which deep yellow (*croch*) styled by English writers "Saffron" was the most prominent. The Four Masters, and also the Clonmacnoise Annalists attribute the art of dyeing particular clothes (the latter say purple, blue and green) to King Tighearumas, whose reign extended from A.M. 3580 to 3656. And in the first of these authorities it is stated, under the year of the world, 3664, that his immediate successor King Eschaidh was surnamed *Eadghadhach*, because it was by him the variety of colour was first put on clothes [no doubt woollen] in Ireland to distinguish the house of each by his garment, from the lowest to the highest. There was this distinction made between them,—one colour in the clothes of slaves; two in the clothes of soldiers; three in the clothes of goodly heroes or young lords of territories; six in the clothes of *ollavs* (professors); seven in the clothes of kings or queens. In a MS. (H 2. 18) in Trinity College, it is added to the foregoing that all colours were used in the dress of a bishop. That there was a tartan or plaid like that used by the Highlanders of Scotland there is undoubted proof in the remains of costume preserved in this collection. It appears to have been black and yellow or saffron colour, and probably each clan possessed a characteristic colour, and a plaid as well as a special dress. If we seek for documentary evidence before the period of the Anglo-Norman Invasion, the earliest accessible authority on the subject of costume is the *Book of Rights*. There, among the tributes paid by the different states or kingdoms of the Irish Pentarchy, we read of the cloak or brat, the outer garment of which the following varieties are specified,—speckled cloaks, cloaks with white borders, red cloaks, blue cloaks, royal cloaks, green cloaks, purple cloaks, cloaks with golden borders, etc. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1862: art. Antiquities

in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy—Mr. Wilde's Descriptive Catalogue.)

Brik, brok, brachæ adopted by the Greeks and Latins is Gothic, and signifies the break, breech, division or fork of the body, and also the clothing called Breeches; but the Gothic *brak* or *bragd* from *bregda* to divide, change, variegate, and Danish *brogges*, Swedish *brokut*, Hebrew *barudh*, Arabic *buruk*, *abruk*, Celtic *brik* or *brek* denote what is ornamented, variegated or striped. *Birk-beuar* the ancient name of a class of Gothic warriors was probably corrupted from *brick-beuar*, the soldiers with the striped hose, the same perhaps who in Irish history are called Red-Shanks. The tartan dress worn by the Highlanders of Scotland is *bryc* and *breccan* in Welch and Irish; like them too the *Galli brachati* or Helvetii may perhaps have followed this mode of marking their genealogical descent and family connections, and the chequered cealt of the Irish, the Gallic kilt, Danish kilt, Teutonic kilt, a lap or fold, being thus variegated and tucked round the thighs or loins was readily confounded with the breeches. This costume is known to have obtained among the Scythians and Persians, who were also called *Brachati* by the Romans. (*Observations on English Etymology*, by John Thomson. J. Murray, 1818.)

The different chequy coloured patterns called *plaids* which distinguish the Scottish Clans may be traced authentically to the time of the Romans. In the *Archæologia* (xxi. 455) is an article "On the Carvings on Stone discovered on the Line of Antonine's Vallum" representing three Roman soldiers, executed in bas-relief, two of whom are dressed in a *plaid kilt*. The figures are supposed to represent the Emperor Severus and his two sons. Mr. Skene in his work on the Highlanders of Scotland (i. 226) says that the highland garb is distinctly figured in the 14th century; and even in the 9th century the Duplin cross exhibits figures in this dress.

This adherence to the chequy pattern in the ancient Highland dress is only similar to the tenacity with which peculiarities in costume have been maintained amongst all nations, especially by the lower classes*

* The costume of the wild Lapps like that of the Cree Indians of North America and other savages is distinguished by the most lively hues, strongly contrasted. Their dress while it calls to mind the chequered plaid of the Highland Scotch may perhaps exhibit no unfaithful counterpart of Joseph's coat of many colours. (Clarke's Travels in Scandinavia, p. 406.)

In Lucca all the women dressed precisely alike—in scarlet. At

when it has been relaxed by the higher; and is one of those means most surely relied on of tracing the origin and connection of different peoples. We can scarcely therefore refrain from believing that the Scottish plaid had its ultimate origin in the same source as that whence the chequy pattern was derived which we find in Assyria, Egypt, and Greece.

The ancient Gauls too probably adopted or rather inherited the plaid pattern in their dress. Diodorus Siculus says of this people, "Their garments are very strange, for they wear *parti-coloured coats* interwoven here and there with divers sorts of flowers" [? diapering]. And according to Tacitus the shields of the ancient Germans were parti-coloured. "*Scuta tantum* he says *lectissimis coloribus distinguunt* (De Mor. Ger. vi.) The word *tantum* excludes all figures and devices, and there can be little doubt that these shields were heraldically chequy, paly, etc., and probably were the originals of that class of European bearings, the most ancient and borne by the most princely houses, as Vermandois, Bavaria, Burgundy, etc.

Banners and shields of one colour without any device must have been among the earliest accessories of the art of war. Homer speaks of the purple banner of Agamemnon. We read of Brutus with the *blue shield* who was said to be king of Britain B.C. 395; and Padarn with the *Red Coat*.^{*} Though these personages might have been mythical, the Bardic writers doubtless related a genuine custom. In the "Heroic Elegies" Llywarch describes the Prince of Reged as carrying a *golden shield* on his shoulder.[†] In the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf sup-

Macerata the peasants observe an established uniform in dress, of which orange appears the prevailing colour. So constant are the women of this class to local costume that the female head becomes a kind of geographical index. (Forsyth's Excursion in Italy, pp. 27, 325.)

The peasantry in and around Elgersburg in Germany have for each parish a distinctive costume or colour for dress, at least had twenty years ago.

^{*} *Archæologia Cambrensis* i. 319.

[†] *Ibid* iii. 102.

posed to have been written in the 10th century we read "Then to Beowulf he gave a *golden banner*; the sword of Healfdan, an ensign adorned in the hilt, a great sword with decorations."* It was one of Gutheling's laws that every one who possessed 6 silver marks should have a *red shield*.† St. Oswald who fell fighting in defence of Christianity against Penda was buried at Bardney Abbey gorgeously enshrined with a *banner of gold and purple* suspended over his remains.†

"The famous Oriflamme of France which always appeared at the head of the French armies, from the 12th to the 15th century, was a square banner of flame-coloured silk, thus described by Guillaume Guiart:—

Oriflamme est une banniere
Aucune soi plus fort que guimple,
De cendal roujeant et simple
Sans portraiture d'autre affaire.

[The Oriflamme is a banner made of a silk stronger than guimp, it is of flaring cendal, and that simply without any figure upon it.]

Its home during peace was the Abbey of St. Denis; and it was entrusted by the sanction of that community to the Kings of France, who were graciously pleased to rank themselves as vassals of the Abbey in their capacity of Counts of the Vexin.

At a later period, the Oriflamme was sometimes powdered with golden flakes of fire, as it is represented in the *Indice Armorial* of Louvain Geliot, folio, 1635, and there thus described:—

L'Oriflambe estoit faite de sendal, c'est à dire de tafetas ou tissu de soys rouge, aucunesfois semée de flames d'or, d'ou elle prenoit le nom d'Oriflambe.

We read of a *White Banner* that was carried in the army of the Kings of England when they went in war against Scotland. The manor of Shorne in Kent was

* Sharon Turner's Hist. of England, iii. 303.

† The Picts regarded with reverence the banner called Brech-annoch from its association with St. Columba their spiritual father. The keeper of this sacred relic had lands assigned to him for its custody. After King Oswald's translation "*vexillum ejus super tumbam auro et purpure compositum adposuerunt.*" (Bede iii. 2)—Stuart's *Stones of Scotland*.

held *in capite* by the service of carrying it, in conjunction with other tenants of the King.

A shield of pure Gold was borne by the family of Menezes in Portugal, and a simple shield of Gules by the Viscounts of Narbonne. In the Salle des Croisades at Versailles such a shield, *de geules plein* is placed for Aymery, first of the name, Vicomte de Narbonne, who died in the Holy Land about the year 1105; again for Raymond Pelet, *dit le Croisé*; and a third time for Amanjeu II. sire d'Albret, both Crusaders under the command of the Count of Toulouse in 1096.

The house of Albret, or la Brette, became Kings of Navarre.

The same entirely red banner appeared at the siege of Carclaverock in 1301, borne by a cadet of that family named Amaneus de la Brette, as he is styled in records of the time, or by the poet of the Expedition, Eurmenions,

Mais Eurmenions de la Brette
La baniere eus toute rougette.

By the English Chronicler, Peter Langtoft, he is called "Sir Emery the Brette." His father had borne the same name (in Latin Amaneus); as did one who is supposed to have been his son; for at the siege of Calais in 1346, there was a Sir Amayen la Brette, serving King Edward the third; and he had then on his red shield the golden lion of England passant in chief, a distinction evidently derived from the long services which this family, originally from Gascoyne had rendered to the King of this country."*

The Barons of Gournay in Normandy are said to have borne a simple shield of sable.† Parti-coloured shields of two colours only, without any charge were variously divided, as Quarterly, Gyronny, party per Pale, per Fess, per Chevron and per Bend; Paly, Barry, Bendy, Lozengy, Chequy etc. These forms were almost all originally borne by great houses, and became infinitely varied and modified by their descendants, especially the quar-

* Herald and Genealogist, iii. 7, 8.

† Record of the House of Gurney, 4to. 1843 p. 19.

terly and chequy arrangements, the insignia respectively of the Earls of Vere and Warren. The renowned banner of the Templars called *Bauseant* was Coupé (or parted by fess) sable and argent. The division of the shield into three equal parts is unknown, at least in English Heraldry. The tricolor flag now used by many nations does not appear to have had an immediate heraldic origin.*

* The origin of the French tri-coloured flag is thus explained :—

The immediate occasion for adopting them [the French Tricolours—Blue White and Red] is said to have been that they were the colours worn by the servants of the Duke of Orleans, and they were first assumed by the people when the minister Necker was dismissed in 1789. But these colours in combination appear to have been formed by uniting the three colours successively used in the French standards at different periods, viz. the Blue of the banner of St. Martin, the Red of the Oriflamme, and the White of the White Cross, supposed to have been assumed by Philip of Valois. The three colours were given by Henry IV. to the Dutch on their desiring him to confer on them the national colours of his country, and they have been since borne successively by the Dutch Republic and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The domestic livery of Louis XIV. was tri-coloured, as were also the liveries of the Bourbon Kings in Spain. At the Revolution they were borne in the same order as the Dutch, but in a different position, viz. parallel to the flag-staff, whereas in the Dutch flag they are at right angles to it. (Brande's *Dictionary of Literature, etc.*)

CHAPTER III.

HERALDRY OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS, AND OF THE
NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

PRESCOTT, speaking of the ancient Mexicans, says (i, 38):—"The national standard, which has been compared to the ancient Roman, displayed in its embroidery of gold and feather work the armorial ensigns of the state. These were significant of its name, which, as the names of both persons and places were borrowed from some material object, was easily expressed by hieroglyphical symbols. The companies and the great chiefs had also their appropriate banners and devices, and the gaudy hues of their many-coloured plumes gave a dazzling splendour to the spectacle."

This national emblem was the Swan.*

The learned Jacob Bryant in his work on Ancient Mythology (ii. 73) says "The Swan was undoubtedly the ensign of Canaan, as the eagle and vulture were of

* America is supposed to have been peopled by a colony from the North Eastern nations of Asia across Behring's Straits. The Aborigines are supposed to have been of the same race as the worshippers of Astarte, whose emblems the cross and crescent, are found sculptured in many parts of the ruined temples. * * The Swan was the emblem of the Canaanites. The Spanish historian Sahagun relates that about two centuries before their conquest by the Spaniards the Aztecs (Mexicans proper) were compelled to surrender to a neighbouring kingdom that oppressed them their emblematical bird the Swan. * * The serpents and eggs found sculptured on the Mexican altars are essentially Tyrian emblems.—*British and Foreign Review*, vol. 17, Art. "Discoveries in Central America."

Egypt. Hence if any colonies from Canaan settled and founded temples, there is sure to be some story about Swans." And some writers have supposed that the lost tribes of Israel migrated to the North-American continent. This opinion is certainly countenanced by the heraldic fact just mentioned. But however this may be, there is abundant evidence in the monumental remains of the ruined cities of Central America to show that their inhabitants had an Asiatic origin. Their worship of the Sun and of the Serpent, their use of many symbols of oriental origin, and other circumstances, amply and satisfactorily testify to this. At Copan was found among the fragments at the foot of a pyramid, the effigy of a colossal ape or baboon, bearing a strong resemblance to the animals of the same species originally figured on the great obelisk from the ruins of Thebes, which now graces the Place de la Concorde in Paris. These animals were worshipped at Thebes, under the name of Cynocephali.

But the sculptured figures on the monolithic idols of this ancient people as engraved in Mr. Stephen's work *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, give us in ample detail a notion of the symbols and emblems they used. These are called "Hieroglyphics," and are considered as unintelligible, as at one time were the hieroglyphics of Egypt. But it is remarkable that the decidedly heraldic character which they for the most part exhibit has never yet been observed; yet that such is the fact the selection engraved on one of the plates of this work clearly shows. We see certain marks, devices, or patterns systematically varied and combined. A patch of the Lozenge pattern* everywhere appears, and dresses have the Fretty pattern with studs at the joints. We have the Cross, Saltire, Cres-

* This there is little doubt was originally meant for the lower part of a fish, and had a religious meaning of an idolatrous character. In some early illuminated Irish MSS. a fish or the lower part of its body is represented; this would have a pear-shaped or triangular form; accompanying this figure in the same MSS. are exhibited more minute patterns of this form exactly resembling the Mexican lozenge device, which when executed small appears simply like crossed lines always diagonally drawn.

cent, Fess,* Roundel, Annulet, in some instances singly, in others combined, also frequently the Tau and Phallus. That these various objects thus differently arranged, on tablets or square frames, have a systematic meaning analogous to the similar combinations of European and Roman heraldry, there can be but little doubt. What they signified in combination with the other figures sculptured on the stones,—whether they had a secondary meaning like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and were a kind of picture writing, I will not pretend to say; but that their primary significance was as distinctive marks or ensigns of the original tribes who came from Asia† and settled on the western hemisphere, analogy and all the facts given throughout this work, tend indisputably to indicate.

* In Mr. Stuart's splendid work *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* is figured a representation of a shield of a Dyak of Borneo which exhibits a crescent in the centre, and annulets at top and bottom.

Dr. Hume, at a lecture on Heraldry at Liverpool, exhibited two shields of native Australian chiefs, carved out of the solid wood, one bearing a device which heralds would describe as *Argent a pale gules*, and the other *Argent a fess gules between 3 pellets sable*, 2 and 1. (*Gentleman's Magazine* Dec. 1861.)

† The aboriginal monuments of North America including those of Mexico and the Provinces to the south of it, are clearly referable to three distinct and possibly very widely separated epochs in the pre-Columbian history of the Continent. * * The first wanderers came from the Northern regions of India, that real primordial land where everything combines to point out a common origin of our faith, our knowledge, and our history. * * In Central America there are the remains of 54 ancient cities. * * *

* * * It is curious, says Mr. Fergusson, that as we advance eastward from the valley of the Euphrates, at every step we meet with forms of art more and more like those of Central America. Many of the sacred edifices in the latter country are identical with the Buddhist Temples in the Southern parts of India, and in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. * * Scandinavia, Gaul, Mauritania, Carthage, Egypt, Palestine, Hindustan, China, Mongolia, Siberia, and even Wales and Ireland, are supposed by some to have furnished their respective quotas towards the peopling of the new world, whilst others including the late Dr. Morton of New York have maintained that the ancient population was a distinct type of humanity indigenous to the soil. * * In the Province of Puebla gigantic lithic monuments bearing the mystical emblems of Sabea, Phallic, and Ophite worship met the gaze of the Spanish soldier

We have mentioned the use of the figure of the human hand as an ensign on the Roman standards, and its evident antiquity as a symbol in Ireland, and consequently its probable derivation from the shores of the Mediterranean.* This symbol was also of common occurrence in North America. The author of "Ruined Cities in Central America" in Chambers's *Papers for the People* thus speaks of it:—

"There is one mysterious feature connected with these buildings, and observed even in those most distant from each other, which is of the utmost importance, not only as further proving the similarity of thought and feeling, because of sign and symbols, existing between their respective populations, but still more as affording a connecting link between these populations and some of the tribes which to this day inhabit the North American continent. We allude to the print of a red hand which has been found on the walls of the edifices in almost all the cities explored. The sign of the hand we are told is not painted, but seems literally printed upon the stones by the pressure of the living hand, while moist with the paint, as every minute line and seam of the palm is visible. It is a remarkable fact that this same sign constantly recurs on the skins of animals purchased from the Indian hunters on the Rocky Mountains, and it is indeed said to be in common use among the tribes in the north."

This apparently connecting link between the ancient and the modern indigenous inhabitants of North America would prepare us to believe the latter to be descended from the former, though there seems to be no tradition or other evidence to that effect, nor are the Indians of the present day known to exhibit any such symbols as are found sculptured on the idols of the Mexicans. But whatever may have been the origin of the Red Indians, there can be no doubt that the heraldic titles of their tribes had a similar origin to the same designations that

whithersoever he turned. * * Associated with Sabeian worship in former times was that of the lingam or phallus. This well attested fact leaves little room for doubting that the original Americans derived their religious system in part from the East. * * On the helmet or cap of a warrior or priest was found the symbol of an elephant's head.—*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1867.

* The Hand which appears over the great entrance gate of the Alhambra at Granada is a symbol in universal use amongst the peoples of Arabian descent.—*Archæological Journal*, xxiii. 271.

we have seen to characterize the races or tribes of Hindostan, as the Snake tribe etc. An American antiquary, Mr. Taylor tells us

“ Among the North American Indians, symbols are employed for the purpose of distinguishing their tribes. The Shawanese nation, for example, was originally divided into twelve tribes, which were subdivided into septs or clans, recognized by the appellation of the Bear, the Turtle, the Eagle, etc. In some cases individuals, particularly the more eminent warriors, formerly assumed similar devices, commemorative of their prowess. ‘And this,’ says Mr. Taylor, ‘is *Indian heraldry*.’ ”

Another American author thus further enlarges on the subject :—

“ The Indian tribes of the North American continent have an interesting custom amongst them, which is not unlike the system of heraldry amongst more civilized communities. It is called the institution of the *totem*. The *totem* is a recognized symbol of the name of a progenitor, most frequently some bird, quadruped, or other well-known object in the animal kingdom, which thus comes to represent the family surname, and it is usually some animate rather than an inanimate object. Its significant importance amongst them is very great, as may be seen from the fact that they unhesitatingly trace their descent from it. By whatever names they may have been known during life, it is the *totem*, and not their personal name, that is placed on the tomb indicating their burial-place. The bear, the wolf, the fox, and the turtle, appear to have been amongst the most honoured *totems* of these Indian tribes, and thus have great prominence in the traditions of the Iroquois, Delaware, and other Indians. No savage tribes are more tenacious of their relationship than these North American Indians.”

CHAPTER IV.

HERALDRY OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS AND ROMANS.

The classic soil of ancient Greece—

Land of lost Gods and Godlike men—

has left many and various testimonies behind of the prevalence amongst its people of symbolical devices,—in its historians, poets, and dramatists,—in its ruined temples and broken sculptures,—in its abundant and diversified coinage,—in its gems of felicitous beauty and unrivalled execution, and in its matchless sepulchral vases, whose surfaces display such graceful figures and such graphic delineations of costume, arms, and mythological scenes.

Hesiod describes the shield of Hercules as

——— all throughout
Bright with enamel, and with ivory,
And mingled metal; and with ruddy gold
Refulgent; and with azure plates inlaid
The scaly terror of a *dragon* coil'd
Full in the central field.

Homer describes more or less briefly the shields and warlike weapons of his heroes; but his descriptions are generally confined to their size, their strength, their material, their workmanship and their formidable appearance. Thus the shield of Ajax-Telamon is described as his “ample shield” (*Iliad* vii. 265) and afterwards (line 296) as “the seven-fold shield,” and more in detail in these lines (267–70)

Huge was its orb, with seven thick folds o'ercast
Of tough bull-hides; of solid brass the last;

(The work of Tychius, who in Hyle dwell'd,
And in all arts of armoury excell'd).

The shield of Pallas is mentioned with the additional information of the device it bore,—as appearing on medals and sepulchral vases (book ii. lines 526–9):—

The dreadful ægis, Jove's immortal shield,
Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field;
Round the vast orb, a hundred serpents roll'd,
Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold.

In book v. (lines 908–16) it is again described at greater length :

Now heaven's dread arms her mighty limbs invest,
Jove's cuirass blazes on her ample breast;
Deck'd in sad triumph for the mournful field,
O'er her broad shoulders hangs his horrid shield,
Dire, black, tremendous! Round the margin roll'd
A fringe of serpents, hissing, guards the gold:
Here all the terrors of grim war appear,
Here rages Force, here trembling Flight and Fear,
Here storm'd Contention, and here Fury frown'd,
And the dire orb portentous Gorgon crown'd.

Agamemnon's "buckler's mighty orb" is described in book xi. lines 43–52 :

Tremendous Gorgon frown'd upon its field,
And circling terrors fill'd th' expressive shield.

The shield of Achilles,* and its pictorial and allegori-

* In the *Penny Magazine* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for Sep. 22. 1832, is a well executed wood engraving of the Shield of Achilles, from the design of M. Quatremere de Quincy's splendid work *Le Jupiter Olympien; ou l'Art de la Sculpture Antique*, accompanied by the following remarks:—"As affording a picture of ancient life and manners, Homer's description of Achilles' shield possesses the highest interest: while the simplicity of the language, and the charming picture of nature which it presents, are calculated to give the highest pleasure to all who can appreciate genuine poetry. When we consider the remote and uncertain epoch to which the writer of this description belonged, we cannot help feeling increased admiration for the poet who could paint, and the artist who could form so elaborate a piece of workmanship; for surely some such work, or at least some similar works, must have preceded the description of them. The Shield of Achilles

cal surface, is described at great length in book 18; in the poet's own words

Rich artifice emblazed the field,

reminding one of the bronze shield, representing his victories, presented to the Duke of Wellington in 1822.*

According to Æschylus, Tydeus bore on his shield, *a full moon surrounded with stars*; Capaneus, *a naked man holding a lighted torch* with a corresponding motto; Eteocles, *an armed man ascending a ladder placed against a tower*, with a motto; Hippomedon, *Typhon vomiting smoke and fire surrounded by serpents*; Parthenopæus, *a sphinx holding a man*; and Polyneices, *Justice leading an armed man*, with a motto.

Euripides assigns somewhat different appointments to his heroes. According to his enumeration, Parthenopæus exhibited his mother *Atalanta chasing the Ætolian boar*; Hippomedon, *the figure of Argus*; Tydeus, the figure of *Prometheus holding in his right hand a torch*; Polyneices, the *Horses of Glaucus*; Capaneus, *a giant bearing a city on his shoulders*; and Adrastus *a hydra of 100 heads*, carrying the Thebans off their walls. The shield of Amphiaraus according to both authors had no device.†

is itself a proof of the art of design, and the working in metals having attained a very high degree of perfection among the Greeks, at a period of which we have no authentic historical records."

In these days of slip-slop writing, and slovenly and coarse engravings, found in the magazines and cheap literature of the day, it is refreshing to turn to such early pioneers of cheap knowledge as the *Penny Magazine*, where we meet with careful and well executed wood engravings, and instructive articles well written, in which the lapse of nearly forty years shows not improvement but degeneracy.

* See *Saturday Magazine* March 1834.

† Æschylus and Euripides concur in representing this as the effect of his modesty, which would not anticipate a precarious victory. Thus the youthful Helenor is designated by Virgil (*Æneid* ix. 548), *parma inglorius alba*; and further on (xi. 711) the plain shield of Camilla is spoken of as *puræque interrita parma*. And this sentiment is in strict accordance with the usages and opinions of Chivalry. We are told (Mills, *History of Chivalry*, ch. iv.) that a young knight would not during his first enterprises assume his family arms, but he wore plain armour, and a shield without any device, till he had won renown. And Mallet, in his *Northern Antiquities*, has these remarks

With this last exception it will be observed that the two poets differ in the bearings they attribute to their heroes: and this is natural enough, as these devices were probably the creations of imagination, and would vary according to the fancy of the respective writers, just as Sir Walter Scott gives fanciful arms to his warlike characters, as to Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert in *Ivanhoe*, and Sir Thomas de Vaux in the *Talisman*.

But there is a phrase employed by Euripides (Phenissæ l. 1107, Paley's Ed.) which implies a two-fold important meaning. "Parthenopæus (son of the huntress") he says, "having a family device" (*Episema oikion*) in the middle of his shield, *Atalanta destroying the Ætolian boar*, with her distant wounding bow." This shows 1. that the combatants adopted *new devices for the occasion*, whilst 2., Parthenopæus displayed his *hereditary bearings*. This evident state of the case is an answer (that will be much strengthened as we proceed) to the objection that this discordance between Æschylus and Euripides in this matter is proof that personal devices at this period were temporary and arbitrary, and not *inherited*.*

We are told that Alexander the Great granted devices to his followers with an especial provision that the same should not be borne by any other person throughout the Empire.†

Pliny (lib. xxxv. c. 3) speaking of the Trojan war says: *Scutis quibus ad Trojam pugnatum est continebantur imagines*.

on the subject: "When a young warrior was first enlisted they gave him a white and smooth buckler, which was called the Shield of Expectation. For this reason none but princes and persons distinguished by their services presumed to carry shields adorned with any symbol. The common soldiers could not obtain a distinction of which the chieftains were so jealous. According to Plutarch, in the expedition of the Cymbri, the greater part had only white bucklers."

* See Brewster's Edin. Ency. art. Heraldry.

† Ency. Metrop. art. Heraldry. No authority is given for this statement. The same thing is said of Charlemagne, or that he *regulated* the use of arms. It is highly probable that both these great Emperors did amongst their other reforms enjoin a stricter and more systematic observance of a custom already existing, adding new institutions to an established code, as Napoleon I. in fact did with respect to his marshals, nobles and officers of the Court.

Virgil has a passage which illustrates a general practice in war of seizing and using the weapons, flags, and devices of the enemy as trophies:—

— Mutemus clypeos Danaumque insignia nobis
Aptemus.

Xenophon, in the fourth book of his *Hellenics*, relates that the inhabitants of Argos seeing some troops approaching them, who bore on their shields the ensigns of the Sycyonians, were divested of fear, as the Sycyonians were their allies.

“The Carians,” says Herodotus, “set the example of fastening crests on helmets, and of putting devices on shields, which the Greeks have adopted.” (Clio, § 171: Translation by Cary.) The following curious passage occurs further on (§ 194) respecting the Babylonians: “Every man has a seal, and a staff curiously wrought, and on every staff is carved either an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle or something of the kind, for it is not allowable to wear a stick without a device.”

We cannot better introduce the subject of the coins of Greece as furnishing abundant evidence for our purpose, than by quoting some pertinent remarks from an article on the subject in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1856:—

We learn more respecting the religious worship, and the political relations of the independent states of Greece from inscriptions and coins than from the formal compositions of the poet and the historian. *Pæstum* is best known by the majestic remains of her temples and the long series of her beautiful coins. * * The study of Greek coins is the study of the most authentic history in the most exquisite productions of contemporary art. The varieties of Greek coinage seem to be almost without limit. Not only had every state its own coinage, but in every coinage there were a vast number of varieties, and the power of designating and striking money was exercised even by the smallest islands and towns such as *Salamis*, or *Oce* in *Ægina*. Five hundred distinct types are assigned to *Tarentum*. In *Mionnet's* list we have no fewer than 300 kings and 1,000 cities. * * The coinage of *Bactria* bore Greek devices and legends. * * The Persians issued a coinage in imitation of the Greek as early as the time of *Darius*, the son of *Hydaspes*. * * An imitation of the coinage of Greece has been discovered even in *India*. * * The earliest Hebrew Coin is of the date of the *Maccabees*. Of *Egypt* and *Assyria* we do not possess any trace whatever of a coinage.

The system of each town having its device is to be sought for in the peculiar religious belief or worship of each individual place to which the type belonged. * * The type is very likely to be a symbol of that worship. The ear of corn is very likely to have been a symbol of the worship of Ceres. * * Even in later times, when it became the fashion to introduce the portraits of kings and dynasts upon the coin, we have the strongest possible ground for believing that in no case was it done until the individual had been invested with divine honours as a deity or hero. In the coinage of the Roman empire the same religious character was sustained throughout; and after the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, we find a corresponding change in the types and inscriptions. On the coins of Constantius we find the sacred monogram, and on the Byzantine coins we have representations of the Saviour himself."

On a coin of Amyntas, King of Macedonia, is a *horse statant*: on one of Amyntas, King of Galatia, a *lion statant*. The device borne by the city of Agrigentum on its coins was a *crab*; Clides bore a *key*; Cardia a *heart*; Melos a *melon*, which was a common symbol on its early coins; Rhodes used the device of a *rose* or pomegranate; Selinus, a leaf of parsley. An emblem on the coins of the cities of Sicyon is a *dove*, possibly bearing some allusion to the worship of Venus. An *antelope* is the sole device on the coins of Cenos in Thrace. A *horse* is the symbol common to Macedonia and the chief cities of Thessaly. On coins of a few Macedonian Kings we meet with a circular shield variously ornamented.*

Many of the subjects engraved on the Gems of Antiquity and on the stones of Signet-Rings are of a mythological and emblematical character. Rev. C. W. King in his excellent work on *Antique Gems* says (p. 320)—

After his Conquest of Asia, Alexander used the ring of Darius to seal his edicts to the Persians; his original signet being for those addressed to the Greeks. The device of this last was probably a Lion, at least such was the figure on the signet with which Philip dreamed that he sealed up the womb of Olympias; and in commemoration of this dream Alexander subsequently founded a city called Leontopolis. Moreover the sole coins (hemidrachms) bearing his actual portrait with the horn of Ammon have a lion for the reverse. At this period *every man had a fixed device for his signet, as well known and unvarying as a coat of arms at present*; for we read of a conspiracy being detected in consequence of a letter brought to

* Encyclopædia Metropolitana, art. "Numismatics."

a Greek officer bearing *an unknown seal*, and which proved to be one from an agent of Darius (Quintus Curtius). * * The scholiast on Thucydides (i. 129) says the signet of the king of the Persians (Darius) bore according to some the portrait of the king himself, according to others, that of Cyrus the founder of the monarchy, and again as others say the Horse of Darius, by reason of whose neighing he was made king.† * * Areius, king of the Lacedemonians ends his letter addressed to the high priest Onias thus, "The seal is an Eagle grasping a serpent in his talons." (Josephus xii. 5.)

The same author in his *Hand Book of Gems* (p. 216) thus further remarks on the subject:—

The devices on the signets of the ancients were both hereditary and unalterable like our armorial bearings. A singular confirmation of this statement is afforded by the conclusion of the Heracleian inscription which specifies the respective seals of the magistrates therein concerned, one bearing on his signet a Winnowing Fan (a noted Bacchic symbol); another a Dolphin, another a branch of Grapes etc. * * So exactly did these bearings (on the Greek and Etruscan vases) correspond to the cognizances of chivalry, that we find the traditions concerning the mythic heroes making them bear engraved on their signets the same devices that decorated their shields. Thus Plutarch relates (De Solert. Anim.) that Ulysses adopted and bore on his shield and signet a dolphin to commemorate the preservation of Telemachus by its agency, when in his childhood he had accidentally fallen into the sea. Hence in gems the portrait of the wily Ithacan is to be recognized by his shield displaying a dolphin for its device. * * [And at p. 191 of the same work we are informed that] Polyænus distinctly states that the device of the King of the Persians, Xerxes, was a *Naked Woman with her hair dishevelled*,‡ a

† This is refuted by a corrected reading of an inscription by Rawlinson. See Review of Henry's *Lecture on the Zendavesta* in *Saturday Review*, Sep. 16. 1865. The horse in this case was probably an heraldic emblem; it was common on the coins of Macedonia.

‡ This is precisely the crest of the family of Viscount Clifden, whose ancestors lived at Kiddall near Leeds, from the 13th century. It is represented with a coat of arms in the Visitation of Yorkshire (Harleian MSS. Brit. Mus. 1394) which are apparently copied from a glass window "in the chapel of the house of Mr. Vavasour at Hazlewood," which from the position of the shield and the form of the helmet may be said to be of the age of Edward III., or not later than that of Henry IV. The motto formerly borne with the arms and crest viz. *Huic habeo non tibi* cannot be traced higher than 1612. The latter is used by one other family only (Newton); the crest is not borne by any other family. The tradition is that one of the family at Kiddall, was a Crusader under Richard I., and having captured a Saracen maiden, like another Scipio, spared her honour, and

type, according to him, commemorating the tradition that their Queen Rodogune (the same story is told of the more ancient Semiramis) rushing in this state out of the bath had quelled a revolt of her subjects, apparently a Greek fiction coined (after their wont rather than confess ignorance) to explain the figure of Anaitis, the Babylonian Venus, so frequently represented in this guise on the cylinders.

We have now to ascertain the assistance to be obtained in our enquiries from those beautiful remains of Greek and Etruscan art, Sepulchral and other Vases.*

hence assumed this crest. On this crest and motto I contributed a short paper in the *Herald and Genealogist*, Part XXIV, where also appears another paper "On the Use of Antique Gems on Mediæval Seals" wherein I have presumed that some Crusader found a gem with this device as used by Xerxes, brought it home and used it as many others did other gems as a personal seal. Two other such cases I have therein mentioned, to one of which was attached a similar crusading story.

Mr. King's remarks on this use of Gems are interesting and instructive. At p. 300 of his first work he observes "Mediæval rings and seals are often found set with antique intagli for the purpose of signets. The subjects engraven upon them were always interpreted by the owners as representations of scriptural personages and events. Thus a triple mask stood for the Trinity, with the legend added round the stone *Hæc est Trinitatis imago*. * * Isis nursing Horus naturally passes for the Virgin and Child. * * The common type of a muse holding a mask did duty for Herodias with the Baptist's head in her hand, and St. John the Evangelist was represented by the figure of Jupiter with the Eagle at his feet. Silenus with his crooked stick was appropriately transformed into some croziered abbot, whilst Cupids made very orthodox angels. The bust of Serapis passed always for the portrait of Christ. * * Every collection of Documents of the Middle Ages will display in their seals attached abundant evidence of the universality of the custom. The parchments preserved in the muniment room of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, have a great number of impressions from antique intagli set in the personal seals of the donors and attestors [parties] of the various deeds." And at p. 325, the author gives further exemplifications of the practice: "Pepin used for his signet a head of the Indian Bacchus, and Charlemagne one of Serapis; the first probably passed muster for that of Moses, the last for Christ himself."

* "To the history of those races which have left no written records, no inscribed memorials, their pottery is an invaluable guide. * * Its use is anterior to that of metals; it is as enduring as brass. * * The use of letters is comparatively recent; the glyptic and graphic arts only exist in their later forms as exercised on imperishable ma-

Of the earliest, the Archaic Greek specimens of this fictile ware, Mr. Birch observes that the "animals represented are chiefly lions, panthers, boars, goats, bulls, deer, eagles, swans, ducks, owls, and snakes—the chimæra, gryphon and sphinx—a kind of trefoil lotus often introduced, and the fylfot pattern—such representations belonging evidently to the dawn of art, and derived from oriental sources."* But the particular fact that is more important for our purpose, is what is expressed in Mr. Hope's words, that "Emblems and Devices were as common on ancient shields as on the bucklers of the Crusaders."† This fact is deduced from the paintings on these long-entombed "storied-urns;" for wherever the subjects admit of the introduction of warriors, we almost invariably find them armed with a circular shield containing a device.

Mr. Boutell in his latest work on "English Heraldry," thus describes these devices:—

"Shields upon vases in the collections of the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, and in the British Museum, where they are easy of access, contain a great variety of devices, including lions, horses, dogs, wild-boars, fish, birds, clusters of leaves, chariots, chariot-wheels, votive tripods, serpents, scorpions with many others. In another collection I have seen an anchor, a bow, etc."

The general opinion of those who have written on the subjects represented on Vases, is that the *Episema* or emblems on the shields had no systematic import. The Marquis of Northampton in an article on a Greek Vase in the *Archæologia* (vol. 32) observes that "Millingen and others say they are frequently arbitrary," whilst the Marquis himself says "I don't advocate the idea that any particular emblems were exclusively attached to any particular heroes or families * * The serpent I find continually on the bucklers of giants, in the oft-recurring subject of the Gigantomachias. I find it not uncommon

terials; but in every quarter of the world, fictile fragments of the earliest efforts lie beneath the soil, fragile but enduring remains of the time when the world was in its youth." Birch's *History of Pottery* (ii. 395).

* Ibid. i. 257.

† Ancient Greek Costume.

on many of the *Episema* of Minerva, and often on shields of Achilles." And he proceeds to give the emblems exhibited in many cases :

" On a Vase in the Royal Collection at Munich, a cock is the emblem on the shield of Hector. On the shield of one of the Combatants on my Vase is a Serpent, and this warrior I believe to be Achilles. The other, whose emblem is a tripod, I conclude to be Memnon. On a vase on which is the combat of Achilles with Memnon over the dead body of Antilochus, the buckler of Achilles has a Serpent, while the son of Nestor has two on his shield. A vase contains two Serpents on the shield of Ajax, who is carrying the body of Achilles, perhaps for the shield of Achilles himself. On another vase, the shield of Achilles has on it a serpent, a satyr's head, and a tiger, whilst that of Ajax shows two Serpents and a Gorgonium. A Tripod was generally borne by Hector and Memnon, and is supposed to be the emblem of Apollo. Several instances show that the Tripod was a Trojan badge. Achilles or Ajax bears also a bull's head."

In Millingen's work a vase is represented with Minerva bearing on a shield a Dolphin. Another found in Sicily bears the cognizance of that Island, the *trinacrea*.* Another represents Ephialtes fighting Neptune, with on the shield of the former 2 *Globes* or *Roundels* placed one above the other.

Mr. Hope in his work before mentioned gives in Plate xl. the figure of a Greek warrior, with a scorpion on his shield, and a *chequy band* on his helmet. In Plate xliii. a Pegasus occurs on a helmet, on others Serpents. In Pl. xlvi. a Torch or Club is delineated on a Theban shield. In Pl. lxxvii. another Theban shield displays a Leopard's Face between 2 Serpents. In Pl. lxxviii. a Mermaid occurs on a helmet.

In Plate v. of Panofka's work (fol. Paris) on the *Vases Peints* of the *Musée Blacas* (now transferred to the British Museum) is figured a shield containing a Horse's or Ram's Head.

* It was from Tor-ance that Sicily was called Trinacis and Trinacia. This in process of time was changed to Trinacria, which name was supposed to refer to the triangular form of the island, and the name equally related to a small part of the island near Etna. The island of Rhodes was called Trinacria, which was not triangular. (Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*.)

The shield of Agamemnon on one Vase has the bearing of a Scorpion. On another Demophoon son of Theseus King of Athens, bears the device of the head and shoulders of a goat—a goat being the emblem of Thrace—where he was driven, on his return from the Trojan war. Upon another vase Jason is represented as about to quit Iolchos in search of the Golden Fleece; his shield has a serpent on it assumed also by other Greeks, therefore probably a national emblem and not personal to Jason.*

This author's latter remark is probably the correct explanation of the frequent recurrence of the serpent and is confirmed by the following facts.

Upon the tomb of Epaminondas there was figured a shield with a Serpent for a device, to signify that he was an Ophite or Theban. (Suidas—Epaminondas.) The Spartans were of the same race, and there is said to have been the same device upon the shield of Menelaus and Agamemnon. (Pausanias lib. x.)†

From all the foregoing we have evidence, from different sources, that it was customary for the warriors of the Iliad, and the Greeks generally, at the periods illustrated to bear devices on their shields. The important question then arises whether these were arbitrarily chosen, adopted for a special occasion, and frequently changed by the same person and the same family, or were hereditary, and employed according to some systematic rules. We have seen reason to suppose that the emblems attributed by Æschylus and Euripides were the inventions of those poets, whilst at the same time a phrase noticed, made use of by Euripides, shows that *family devices* or hereditary bearings were known. What explanation then can be given of the same device being borne by different persons, and different devices by the same person?

To this question two answers may be given. 1. As regards the deities who figure on these shields it is well known that they had various attributes, and that their

* Newton's Display of Heraldry, 1846.

† Bryant's Ancient Mythology (ii. 465.)

actions were numerous and varied. 2. The heroes of the Iliad all bore symbols on their shields, but as in general they are not described by Homer, the omission must have been supplied by the varying fancy of painters and sculptors, who, in the absence of any authority on the subject, or of any conventional devices agreed on by the practice of artists, or in so far as those two guides were imperfect, would attribute such emblems to their heroes as corresponded with the actions illustrated. A similar practice, to be noticed more in detail hereafter, seems to have prevailed in mediæval times, in the Bayeux tapestry, where for the most part apparently imaginary heraldic shields are indiscriminately given to Saxons and Normans, and the same bearings to different personages among the latter; and in fresco representations of the murder of Thomas à Becket, where evidently in ignorance of the real devices borne by the four knights his murderers, different arms are given on one or more of the shields by the different artists.

But that in real life, amongst the ancient Greeks, their heraldry was systematic as well as hereditary, is to be inferred from the *heraldic bearings* to speak correctly, observed on shields yet to be noticed; for in the sense in which the words have hitherto been, and are generally used, they can scarcely be called devices or emblems, or even perhaps symbols.

In Millin's work—*Peintures des Vases Antiques*—(i. 111) is figured a warrior who holds a shield, the whole area of which is covered with the *chequy* design. This is symbolical or emblematical of scarcely anything, and can only be conceived to be borne as an *hereditary and cherished mark* of some tribe or race of cognate origin with those who bore the same pattern as seen in Assyrian remains and on some Greek helmets (ante p. 18). In the same work (ii. 25) is represented a warrior with only half his shield visible, which, presuming the other half would repeat the symbols borne on the one seen, would heraldically speaking, be described as two *increscents* in the centre, their inner curves opposite, with a *bordure* of 6 *annulets*. In the British Museum one Vase contains 3

balls or roundels; another on a white field, 4 sable ones with an annulet in the centre; and another from Millingen has been before noticed having 2 roundels only. These it will be seen have a remarkable general resemblance to the shields found in the Indian Temples noticed at p. 13. The star and crescent are well-known sacred symbols, and there is little doubt that the ball or globe was of a like religious import: it and the annulet occur plentifully on the Roman shields to be presently noticed, and the globe is found for centuries on European mediæval coins; 3 of them are on the standard of Constantine, and they occur in the earliest known heraldic shields. The use of these symbols on the ancient vases therefore could hardly have been fanciful or arbitrary; and their varied arrangement and combination imply a system. If they were not—the instances we have met with—the actual bearings of any family, yet they give us examples of what were probably in use at the time, and are as clear evidence of an heraldic system then as a promiscuous collection of as many seals with analogous symbols of the time of Edward the third in England.

Whatever was the origin of the imperial city of Rome, by whomsoever first founded and peopled, there can be no doubt that the early Romans in their intercourse with the people of Etruria, adopted many of their customs, if they had not already possessed such as are common to all warlike races. The vases exhumed from Etruscan tombs exhibit in most instances the same mythological subjects as we find displayed on Greek vases: and in a tomb opened by Signor Avolta there were found *several large bronze shields with images in bas-relief*.

But though we have no such instructive monuments of art as the pictorial vases of the Etruscans, the Greeks and Greek colonists, handed down to us by the early settlers on the Tiber, or their descendants for several ages, yet the literature and monumental and other remains of a later period furnish sufficient materials to enable us to form a tolerably correct notion of the customs of the Roman People during the Republic and the

Empire, in regard to the use of emblematical devices on shields, and otherwise.

The classic writers contain frequent allusions to shields with devices. In the seventh book of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," where Ægeus is nearly poisoning his son Theseus by mistake, till he recognizes certain family symbols on the hilt of his sword, occurs this passage:—

Sumpserat ignara Theseus data pocula dextra,
Cum pater in capulo gladii cognovit eburno
Signa sui generis.

But it is the *Æneid* of Virgil which contains the most numerous references to the subject. In that work we meet with the following passages:—

Mutemus clypeos, Danaûmque insignia nobis
Aptemus: —————
————— Sic fatus, deinde comantem
Androgei galeam, clypeique *insigne decorum*
(ii. 388-91)

Post hos insignem palmâ per gramina curram
Victoresque ostentat equos, satus Hercule pulchro
Pulcher Aventinus; clypeoque *insigne patrum*,
Centum angues, cinctamque gerit serpentibus hydram;
(vii. 655-8)

Et Sacranæ acies, et *picti scuta* Labici
(vii. 796)

Miratur nemus insuetum *fulgentia* longè
Scuta virûm ————— (viii. 92, 3)

————— quorum primævus Helenor
Ense levis nudo, *parmaque inglorius albâ*
(ix. 545-8)

Ense pedes nudo, *purâque interrita parma*
(xi. 711)

Gems and statues furnish us abundantly with the forms of animals, etc., used as *crests*. Turnus is described by Virgil as bearing for his crest a chimæra; and Corvinus, in the poem of Silius, exhibits on his helmet a crow. To show that this was an hereditary bearing, it is described as *ostentans ales proavilæ insignia pugnæ*. The story of Io appeared on the shield of her descendant Turnus; the swan's plume on the shield of

Cupavo indicated his descent from Cynus; and the hydra on the shield of Aventinus declared him the progeny of Hercules.

The following passage from Mr. King's work before quoted on *Antique Gems* (p. 318) gives additional illustrations of the customs of the Romans in respect to using personal and family devices:—

“Dio records that the head of Augustus engraved by Dioscorides was the signet used by his successors until Galba substituted for it *his own family device*, a dog looking forth from a ship's prow. Sylla's favourite seal was the surrender of Jugurtha (Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvii.) * * * Augustus at first sealed with a sphinx, afterwards with the head of Alexander the Great. That of Mæcenas was a Frog. A calcedony scarab in the Mertens-Schaffhausen Collection is engraved with a frog. Both the beetle, and the intaglio, a highly finished work of an Etruscan artist of the best period, may be assigned without much stretch of probability to some member of the powerful clan *Maikne*, the “regal ancestry” of Horace's patron. That Greek devices like our heraldic crests were hereditary appears from Dio's notice of Galba's hereditary seal.”

And the following passage from Suetonius offers unquestionable testimony to the existence of hereditary family devices among the Romans:—*Vetera familiarum insignia*, says the historian, speaking of Caligula, *nobilissimo cuique ademit; Torquato torquem; Cincinnato crinem Cn. Pompeio, stirpis antiquæ, Magni cognomen*. The persons mentioned were probably the heads of the several families, who alone were accustomed to wear these ensigns, and therefore alone could lose them. *Cognomina*, too, were well known to have been hereditary.*

* Encyclop. Metrop. art. “Heraldry.”

In Maitland's ‘Church in the Catacombs’ are given several epitaphs of the early Christians at Rome, where are figured objects that closely resemble the name of the deceased family, as a Lion for Leo, etc. And in the volumes on Pompeii in the ‘Library of Entertaining Knowledge’ (vol. i. p. 162) is an engraving of a brazier, stamped with the figure of a cow, and inscribed with the name of “M. Nigidius *Vaccula*.” The following remarks of the author illustrate our subject:—“Varro, in his book upon Rural affairs, tells us that many of the surnames of the Roman families had their origin in pastoral life, and especially are derived from the animals to whose breeding they paid most attention. As, for instance, the Porcii took their name from their occupation as swineherds; the Equarii, of horses; the Tauri, of bulls, etc. We may conclude,

The *national* ensigns of the Romans were various, and varied from time to time, according as new conquests were made, or superstitious feeling exalted or degraded a symbol. Pliny observes (x. 4) that the eagle was the first and chief military ensign; others were the wolf, the minotaur, the horse and wild-boar. Before the time of Caius Marius the eagle only was borne in actual warfare; the other ensigns were left behind in the camp. Caius Marius rejected altogether the other emblems and retained the eagle exclusively. But at a subsequent period some of the old emblems were resumed. We find the wolf amongst the ensigns of the Trajan column; the dragon the ensign of the Parthians was adopted as shown by the arch of Severus. It was the device also of the Dacians, and it is often seen on the Trajan column.*

The Hand appearing on the top of the Roman Standards was probably an ancient symbol, perhaps of oriental origin: it is found as a symbol in ancient Mexico, and as the badge of Ulster, and as found in some Irish coats of arms, might have had a Phœnician origin.†

We learn from Vegetius (ii. 17) that every legion had the bucklers of its soldiers painted of a particular colour and charged with distinctive symbols, as the thunder-bolt, anchor, serpent, etc. To the symbols were added the peculiar sign of each cohort, and the bucklers contained the name and cohort of the soldier to whom it belonged.‡

therefore, that the family of this Marcus Vaccula were originally cowkeepers, and that the figures of cows so plentifully impressed on all the articles which he presented to the baths are a sort of *canting arms*, to borrow an expression from heraldry, as in Rome the family Toria caused a bull to be stamped on their money."

* Montfaucon—*L'Antiquité expliquée* Supp. t. iv.

† On two limbs of the Cross of Moone Abbey co. Kildare are sculptured two hands. (Keane's *Towers and Temples of Ireland* p. 113.) The figure of a hand occurs on a coin of Egmar-gach, Hiberno-Danish King of Ireland 1054 (Lindsay's *Coinage of Ireland*).

‡ Each century or at least each manipulus had its proper standard and standard-bearer. The ensign of a *manipulus* was anciently a bundle of hay on the top of a pole, afterwards a spear with a cross piece of wood on the top, sometimes the figure of a hand above, and below a small round or oval shield commonly of silver, also of gold,

These military devices were systematically arranged, as much so as mediæval blazonry in the full splendour of its display. This must not only have been necessary, but is evident from the descriptions and figures of the legionary ensigns in the *Notitia Imperii** compiled in the 5th century, and on the column of Trajan as represented in the plates of Montfaucon's great work. There are the same endless combinations of certain symbols and figures of animals, and other significant objects, as we find in modern heraldry; and these were further varied by position, arrangement and colour. The greater part of the symbols are precisely such as form the staple charges in modern armory, as the annulet, sexfoil or cinquefoil, crescent, pellet and mascle. But the fleur de lis and escallop shell, as well as the lion and other objects of the animal kingdom, are almost entirely absent; nor do we find the patterns prevalent amongst the Assyrians, and which enter largely into European heraldry, viz. the parti-coloured divisions of the shield.

Though we have thus abundant information of what were the cohort-ensigns, and from other sources, many of the ensigns of the legions,† yet we only know

on which were represented the images of the warlike deities, as Mars or Minerva, and after the extinction of liberty, of the Emperors or of their favourites. Hence the standards were called *numina legionum* and worshipped with religious adoration. The soldiers swore by them.

We read also of the standard of the cohorts, as of prefects, or commanders of the cohorts. The standards of the different divisions had certain letters inscribed on them, to distinguish the one from the other. The standard of the cavalry was called *vexillum* , a flag or banner, i.e. a square piece of cloth fixed on the end of a spear used also by the foot. A silver eagle with expanded wings on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above it, was the common standard of the legion, at least after the time of Marius, for before that, the figures of other animals were used. (Adam's *Roman Antiquities*.)

* The *Notitia Imperii* bears some resemblance to our Court Calendars. It contains a list of the Civil and Military Officers of the Empire, and was first published by the great lawyer Pancirollus, who thought from internal evidence the work was written about the end of the reign of Theodosius the younger, who died A. D. 450.

† The Roman soldiers represented in stone discovered on the line of Antonine's vallum and dressed in the plaid kilt (before mentioned,

them as existing during the Empire: how long they had been instituted, what was their origin, what mutations they had undergone—are questions left to conjecture. But there are analogies that may help us approximately to solve them.

The early history of the Roman Republic is involved in obscurity and uncertainty. The destructive criticism of Niebuhr, carried to greater lengths by the analytical scepticism of Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, has converted the accepted history of the early ages into an inextricable and inconsistent mass of fictions and fables. But there can be little doubt that the feudal element in some form prevailed in the rise and growth of the Roman states, as it did in India, in Persia, and other countries. We know that the Romans were divided into clans or *gentes*: and from what we have seen, it is pretty clear that the head of each gens bore an hereditary device, which was probably confined to the head of the gens, and with modifications to the head of each subordinate family. In the European feudal system we are aware that each Baron led his retainers to battle under his own banner; and the nobles and knights down to the time of Henry VIII. in England, bore in warfare on their standards and pennons their own peculiar devices and mottos. In the civil war of the 17th century this practice seems to have been discontinued, and we read of Colonel Byron's

p. 20) have each an oblong shield, on which are depicted geometrical figures that have a remarkable resemblance to heraldic charges, viz. on 1. An annulet in chief enclosing a roundel, in fess a square mascle enclosing a roundel, and in base another square mascle. 2. In chief a roundel surmounted by a crescent, or demi-annulet, in fess as the first, and in base a roundel. 3. In chief a roundel, in fess a square mascle, in base another.

The seagoat and the pegasus on tablets and centurial stones found on the walls of Severus and Antoninus, were badges of the Second, and the boar of the 20th Legion (*Gentleman's Mag.* vol. i. 1833, p. 598).

The device of the *Britannici Secundi* is given in the *Notitia Imperii* as a wheel, and such a wheel is actually cut on the tomb of a legionary at Balmore Caerleon in Monmouthshire (*King's Hand Book of Gems.*)

After the African war, Cæsar gave the 5th legion an Elephant for their ensign.

regiment, Viscount Grandison's regiment, etc., and down to the time of George the third, the same distinctions were observed as Lord Ligonier's regiment, General Amherst's regiment, etc., whilst in the present day the regiments of the army are otherwise named, as the Coldstream Guards, the Welch Fusiliers, etc., except when commanded by royal personages. Now it appears amongst the Romans, the members of the same *gens* acting as *triumviri monetales*, at different times, put the same device on their mintage; and Mr. King, in his *Hand Book of Gems*, adduces instances to show that the seal devices of these officials were generally used for the type of the mintage for which they were responsible.*

This indicates what was the probable origin of the cohort-devices. They were doubtless originally the family emblems of the commanders of the cohorts, afterwards multiplied and systematized in the way of which so many illustrations have come down to us.† The ensigns of the legions would have been imposed in a simi-

* In the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 23) is a paper by Mr. King with illustrations, on the signet of Quintus Cornelius Lupus, which has a horse's head and neck bridled and couped (to use the heraldic term) and two large Gallic shields covered with barbaric ornamentations placed *en saltire*. In the field is deeply cut the legend *Q. Corneli Lupi*. The horse was the national emblem on the autonomous gold coinage of the Gauls—and may signify on this signet a victory over that people.

† Pliny derives the word *pecunia* from the circumstance that the coins were originally marked with the image of some animal. The oldest form of the *as* is that which bears the figure of an animal, as a bull, a ram, or a boar. A coin of Thorius Balbus has a bull rushing forward. The torques or collar was always retained as a device by the Manlian family, from the circumstance of Titus Manlius having taken a gold torque from the neck of a Gaulish commander whom he killed in single combat, and we discover it on the coins of this family. Q. Voconius Vitulus exhibited a calf on his medals, and Publicius Malleolus, a hammer or mallet. A coin of the Cassian family has an S and 3 balls. The different number of balls denoted the value of the coins. Perhaps this device had a common origin with the roundels on Greek shields. These balls or pellets were afterwards stamped on mediæval coins. Other devices on Roman coins are, a dolphin, an open hand, a grain of corn, a star, heads of Hercules, Ceres, etc. One has a shell, which as a Roman emblem was very rare.

lar manner, and altered from time to time, by adoption of the device of a people over whom they had obtained a victory, thus serving to commemorate their renown, as the name of a battle-field is inscribed on the "colours" of our own regiments when they have achieved glory and honour.

If this be a true theory of the formation of the cohort-devices of the Romans, we have the materials for an instructive comparison of their family devices with those of the Greeks. The shields of the Greek Warriors contain elements common to them and to the Romans, and probably also to their Etruscan predecessors. If they were fixed and hereditary, we have an important clue in tracing the connection of races with each other, and with a common parentage. The crescent, the annulet, the star, the roundel and cinquefoil occur equally amongst the Greeks and Romans, and are found amongst the mystic symbols of the Buddhist religion, their evident prototypes. The absence, or rare occurrence, of other emblems is significant as showing at the same time the slight prevalence of certain ethnological peculiarities, the tenacity with which these distinctions of race were preserved, and the importance attached to these embodiments of ancestral feeling, amid the mixture of races, and the changes of language and religion, laws and customs.

CHAPTER V.

HERALDRY OF MYTHOLOGY.

WAR preceded Religion. Whether mankind sprang from one or several centres, their emergence from a merely animal state must have been for a long period characterized by modes of life and mental inferiority, little removed from those of brutes, and such as are met with amongst the lowest order of savages in all parts of the earth. The necessities of daily subsistence, the constant struggle with the elements, the perpetual vigilance against the attacks of wild and ferocious beasts, must in the early stages of man's history, have employed all his physical energies, and have entirely absorbed his feeble mental faculties, to the complete exclusion of any but the most evanescent, rudimentary, and infantile speculations on the unseen powers of nature, their origin or character.* As men multiplied, as communities arose,

* Nations have been found and still exist, whose languages contain not a single word expressive of divinity, and into whose mind the idea of God or of any religion appears never to have entered.

Dobrizhoffer, who was for eighteen years a missionary in Paraguay, states that the language of the Abipones does not contain a single word which expresses God or a Divinity. Penafiel, a Jesuit theologian, declared that there were many Indians who on being asked whether during the whole course of their lives they ever thought of God, replied, No, never. Dobrizhoffer began a conversation with the Cacique Ychoalay, the most intelligent of all the Abipones: in reply to certain questions, he said My father, our grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about

the excitable passions of barbarous races would be often aroused in contests for favoured territories, for fertile lands, and hunting grounds,—to revenge injuries, to secure advantages, and to thin the competitors in the struggle for existence.

Cùm prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porrò
Pugnabant armis, quæ pòst fabricaverat usus :
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invènere : dehinc absistero bello,
Oppida cœperunt munire, et ponere leges,
Nequis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.*

The speculative or meditative faculty could never have been exercised in a continuous way, or employed on any but the every-day necessities and occurrences of life, till long after the dawn of some nascent form of civilization. The vague and passing feeling of terror at the tempestuous ocean, the driving hurricane, or the battle of the elements, must have been separated by a long interval from meditations on the firmament of heaven, and the wonders of the earth beneath. The beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air, which he could subdue and destroy, inspired the primæval man with none of that feeling of wonder and awe with which he saw the everlasting hills vomit forth fire and smoke, the mighty and everflowing river inundate its banks, and the boundless ocean heaving with fury and rage. Here he was in presence of agencies he could neither master nor comprehend: his innate feelings of veneration were excited, and he began mutely to worship. The sun in the full blaze of his glory he adored; the thunder, the lightning, the black clouds, the darkness, he dreaded, as anger and wrath personified.† Hence began

what went on in the Heavens, and who was the Creator and Governor of the Stars.—Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, p. 538.

* Hor. Sat. iii. 99–106.

† The mental analogy between the early stages of human civilization and the childhood of the individual, is forcibly and frequently

the first rudiments of religion. His ideas of reverence extended to all that was strange, abnormal, and mighty around him. A lofty and inaccessible mountain, a gigantic tree,* a huge rock, were invested with the same attributes of life and power that he perceived in the Sun, the viewless Wind, the River and the Sea. Every extraordinary object beame a Fetisch, an idol. This sentiment became cultivated: a priesthood arose; thanksgivings and prayer, sacrifices and propitiation were offered to the Great Powers of Nature.

But this education, though the commencement of the religious history of man, could not have arisen till a stage of early civilization had been reached, that gave him some security for the fruits of his labour against the assaults of his enemies, whether elemental, human, or animal, and enabled a class to devote themselves to objects beyond the incessant pursuit of the chase, or other modes of procuring subsistence. Such a stage could not have been attained, as before remarked, without a long, though intercepted, continuance of that antagonism of life which is a condition of progress. The elementary characteristics of warfare must have long previously pre-

set forth in the works of Vico. * * That original thinker points out the personifying instinct as the spontaneous philosophy of man to make himself the rule of the universe, and to suppose everywhere a quasi-human agency as the determining cause.—Grote's *History of Greece*, i. 473.

* The Turanians worshipped all material things. Trees with them in all times were objects of veneration, and of special worship in particular localities. The mysterious serpent was with them a god, and the bull in most Turanian countries an object of special veneration. The sun, the moon, the stars, all filled niches in their Pantheon; in fact, whatever they saw they believed in,—whatever they could not comprehend, they worshipped. They cared not to enquire beyond the evidence of their senses, and were incapable of abstracting their conceptions. * * It is to this race also that we owe the existence of human sacrifices. Always fatalists, always and everywhere indifferent to life, and never fearing death, those sacrifices were never to them so terrible as they appear to more highly organized races. * * Their tombs and tumuli exist everywhere. Their ancestral worship is the foundation at the present day of half the popular creeds of the world, and the planets have hardly ceased to be worshipped at the present hour.—Fergusson's *Hist. of Architecture*, i. 48.

vailed. Contending tribes, chosen leaders, the system, the discipline which experience in fighting engendered, weapons of attack and defence, the spear and the shield, and standards to rally troops,—all these elements of war must have subsisted. Some badges or marks of distinction, however rude and simple, whether of colour, dress, or other equipment, must have early been found necessary to distinguish hostile tribes, leaders from the mass, and divisions from each other. A simple contrast of colours on a woven fabric, and eventually the figure of some emblematical animal or object, would at an early stage of systematic warfare constitute the standard or banner of a warrior chief. This would become an object of reverence. It would be carried and held sacred in religious ceremonies and processions.* It would become identified with, or initiate religious idolatry. An animal, a bird, or a fish, whether alive or represented, would never in the infancy of religion be worshipped; and this, for the simple reason that Man felt himself to be the Lord of Creation; that like Alexander Selkirk, he was Monarch of all he surveyed, of every creeping thing on the face of the earth, and even of the fowls of the air; whilst in presence of the great agencies of Nature, he shrunk back affrighted, powerless, and subdued.

All mythological history, the evidence of language, the nature of mental perceptions, teaches us that "Heaven's all-glorious Sun" was the first and engrossing object of all worship, as the only obvious "First Great Cause," the Lord of Light and Life, the Giver of All Good Things, the Beneficent Father and Sovereign of the World. Idolatry, the adoration of Symbols and Images, of the brazen Serpent, of the golden Calf, of the sacred Ark, was an after-growth. It sprung up after the veneration for consecrated trees and rocks,† caves and groves.

* The standards of the Romans were called *numina legionum*, and worshipped with religious adoration. The soldiers swore by them.

† The worship of stones prevailed in England several centuries after the introduction of Christianity. A law of Canute is directed against those who worship fire, or rivers, or rocks, or any sort of trees.—Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (i. 3).

And it arose, not so much to satisfy the longing in the human breast for closer communion with its Deity, as naturally and inevitably. In the childhood of the human race, it was the same as with the child of to-day. Reverence like other feelings grows, and is educated. The child in its ignorance tramples on and desecrates what it afterwards venerates. The eagle or the lion of a tribe or a people, after generations of sacred regard, became so associated with religious feeling and customs, that it was invested with a new, a hallowed, and exceptional character; it was deified; other animals or emblems, the symbols and badges of other tribes, were of no account; but the horse or the bull of their own tribe or race became sacred as no other animal, no other object was; and hence by long usage, and priestly inculcation, the various animals and birds constituting the hallowed emblems of tribes, and clans, and peoples, became inseparably conjoined with the worship of the Sun, and eventually the sole objects of adoration.

This I believe to be the *true explanation of the origin of most of the attributes of the Heathen Deities, and of the sacred animals of the Egyptians*. Mythology, it is true, as at present taught, holds no such doctrine. It teaches that these emblems were invented by poets and priests, as typical of certain qualities, or embodying occult or mysterious meanings. Doubtless many emblematical devices were so invented, and with an express purpose; but the far larger number of them I conceive originated as I have suggested, and their symbolical character was an after-thought, and an imputed meaning, arising from ignorance of their real history and origin. This I shall attempt to show somewhat in detail hereafter. At present it will be necessary, as introductory, to examine the theories entertained about mythology in general.

The child of to-day believes its nurse's tales, because every day's experience shows him new wonders, and strange aspects, which prepare his rudimentary judgment to admit the probability of other and unseen marvels. This credulity, in which his whole mind during childhood is enveloped, gradually diminishes, till in manhood

it is almost entirely thrown off, or so much of it only remains as is applied to matters which are not of daily and personal concern, and in which he follows the habit of society, by surrendering his judgment into the hands of those whose special study they are made. These matters are Science, in its most comprehensive sense, and Theology. The every day affairs of life must early, amongst the mass of mankind, have been judged inductively, or in the spirit of the Positive Philosophy. But it was long before this mode was applied to the phenomena of life and the universe, and then only tentatively, and by the enlightened few. But this scientific spirit, once so limited, has through ages, been extending its dominion, till it has at length invaded regions of thought and opinion, hitherto considered sacred from its approach, or impregnable to its attacks. And the time has arrived when every subject or system, which seeks to secure its validity or pretensions, is compelled to submit them to the application of this infallible touchstone, and to be judged accordingly.

The science of Mythology, which concerns itself chiefly about the fables or tales, or mythical narratives of pretended deities, is a branch of the wider science of Theology, which treats of the various Beliefs of Mankind respecting the Governing Powers of the Universe, in the first stage as Material and Sensible, and showing variable volition and capricious power; and in the second, as Invisible and Immaterial, but still possessing volition and power, fixed by no limits, and regulated by no law.

The fables of Mythology could not have been among the primitive beliefs of mankind.* The nurse of to-day is the depositary of tales gathered from many climes,

* In the earliest stage of society we cannot suppose fable to have existed among men. Fables are always tales of *other times*. Fable requires a considerable space of time to acquire credibility, and to rise into reputation. Both the Chinese and Egyptians were altogether unacquainted with fabulous details in the most early periods of their respective monarchies.—*Encyclopædia Britannica* 8th ed. Art. Mythology.

and during many ages. The nurses of the world's infancy could have had no tales to tell of lions or elephants, if they had never seen or heard of such animals. The Incarnations of Vishnu, or the Labours of Hercules, could never as ideas have been invented, or scarcely conceived, by the primæval man, for nothing like them came within his knowledge: experience tested belief, and imagination was limited by it. He could believe in the Life and Power of the Sea, for its manifestations appeared to him to evidence them. He could not believe in a Pegasus, though a mental picture might be formed of a bird's wings placed on a horse's back. How then came all the monstrous tales of mythology, to be believed in after ages, when it was impossible in the childhood of Man? Why, When, and by Whom were they invented?

These questions could not fail to engage the attention of philosophers in ancient times, who lived in the midst of a deeply-rooted Belief, that to them appeared absurd and inexplicable. Accordingly, some conceived the fables of Mythology to be Allegories, intended to convey instruction in morals; others, that they enveloped a secret meaning formerly known but afterwards lost. Euhemerus* wrote a history of the Gods, in which he at-

* "Everemus or Euhemerus was a Sicilian author, of the time of Alexander the Great, and his immediate successors. He became the founder of a peculiar method of interpreting the legends and myths of the popular religion, which has often and not unjustly been compared with the rationalism of some modern theologians in Germany. * * He wrote a work containing accounts of the several gods, whom Everemus represented as having originally been men, who had distinguished themselves either as warriors, kings, inventors, or benefactors of man, and who, after their death, were worshipped as Gods by a grateful people. Zeus for example, was according to him, a king of Crete, who had been a great conqueror. * * This book, which seems to have been written in a popular style, must have been very attractive, for all the fables of mythology were dressed up in it as so many true historical narratives, and many of the subsequent historians, such as the uncritical Diodorus, adopted his mode of dealing with myths, or at least followed in his track, as we find to be the case with Polybius and Dionysius. Traces of such a mode of treating myths occur, it is true, in Herodotus and Thucydides, but Everemus was the first who carried it

tempted to show that they had all been mortal men, and were deified for the benefits they conferred on mankind. Socrates being asked whether he believed the current Attic fable respecting the abduction of Oreithya, daughter of Erechtheus, by Boreas, says he might interpret it—a gust of Boreas blew her down from the rocks above, whilst she was at play, and that having been killed in this manner she was reported to have been carried off by Boreas.*

“Another author,” Mr. Grote remarks (i. 553) “who seems to have conceived clearly and applied consistently the semi-historical theory of the Grecian mythes, is Palæphatus, of whose work what appears to be a short abstract has been preserved. * * He thinks that no narrative could ever have acquired credence, unless it had been founded in truth, and it is impossible for him to accept so much of the existing narratives as conflicts with the analogies of present natural phenomena. If such things ever had been, they would still continue to be, but they never have so occurred, and the extra analogical features of the stories are to be ascribed to the licence of the facts. Palæphatus had taken great pains to separate the true from the false in many of the narratives; he had visited the localities wherein they had taken place, and made careful enquiries from old men and others. The result of his researches are presented in a new version of fifty legends, among the most celebrated and the most fabulous, comprising the Centaurs, Pasiphaæ, Actæon, Cadmus and the Sparti, the Sphinx, Cygnus, Dædalus, the Trojan horse, Æolus, Scylla, Geryon, Bellerophon, etc. * * The Centaurs he tells us were a body of young men from the village of Nephelæ in Thessaly, who first trained and mounted horses for the purpose of repelling a herd of bulls, belonging to Ixion, King of the Lapithæ, which had run wild and did great damage; they pursued these wild bulls on horseback, and pierced them with their spears, thus acquiring both the name of Prickers and the imputed attribute of joint body with the horse. Actæon was an Arcadian who neglected the cultivation of his land for the pleasures of hunting, and was eaten up by the expense of his hounds. The dragon, whom Cadmus killed at Thebes, was in reality Draco King of Thebes, and the dragon's teeth which he was said to have sown, and whence sprung a crop of armed men were in point of fact elephants' teeth, which Cadmus as a rich Phœnician had brought over with him; the sons of Draco sold these elephants' teeth and employed the proceeds to levy troops

out systematically, and after his time it found numerous admirers. The great popularity of the work is attested by the circumstance that Ennius made a translation of it.”—Smith's *Dictionary of Mythology*.

* Grote's *History of Greece*, i. 385.

against Cadmus. Dædalus instead of flying across the sea on wings, had escaped from Crete in a swift sailing boat under a violent storm. Kottus, Briareus and Gyges were not persons with 100 hands, but inhabitants of the village of Katon Cheiria, in Upper Macedonia, who warred with the inhabitants of Mount Olympus against the Titans. Scylla, whom Odysseus so narrowly escaped, was a fast sailing piratical vessel, as was also Pegasus, the alleged winged horse of Bellerophon."

Mr. Grote has devoted a large portion of the first volume of his *History of Greece*, to the discussion of the entire subject of Greek Mythology in all its bearings, ancient and modern; but in the words of Professor Max Müller,* "he leaves the whole of Mythology as a riddle, that cannot and ought not to be solved, as something irrational, as a past that was never present, declining even to attempt a partial explanation of this important problem in the Greek mind."

Mr. Gladstone, Col. Mure, and Mr. Pococke, in his work *India in Greece*, as opposed to Mr. Grote, consider Mythology to have had a basis of fact. The latter author's work (p. 119) contains the following sound and judicious observations on the subject:—

"The Grecian Mythology undoubtedly possessed a basis which was neither inventive nor fictitious. What that basis was, is certainly not to be eliminated from either poet, or logographer or historian, independent of extraneous aids. Such aids are presented to the enquiring mind in those two most durable records of a nation—its language and its monuments. These adjuncts, though of foreign origin, are fortunately available for the elucidation of Greek Mythology.

The theory of the "Myth" as laid down by some distinguished German writers, and adopted by certain authors in this country, is at the best only capable of sound application, where a people has had *no connection with another nation by commerce, war, religion, or other inter-communication*—a category in fact which *history* scarcely supposes. "There is," says this theory, "in the human mind a tendency, when excited by any particular feeling, to body forth that feeling in some imaginary fact, scene, or circumstance, in the contemplation of which it may find relief." Again we are told that "whatever thought arose in a man's mind, whatever sensation varied his consciousness, could be expressed by him only in one way, namely, *dragging forth the concrete images, fictions or inventions that he felt arise contemporaneously with it.*"

* Comparative Mythology, Oxford Essays, p. 42.

In a volume* elucidatory of the true sources of Greek legend, I shall demonstrate that the great myths of antiquity are not *feelings bodied forth to relieve the mind*, still less are they concrete images, fictions and inventions. Wherever an important *mythus* has existed, an important *fact* has been its basis. Great principles do not arise from idealities; a *national myth* cannot be generated without a *national cause*, and a national cause implies *agency*, not *invention*. After facts, obscuration may arise, the conditions of which latter are easier as the facilities of record are scarcer. Imitation then steps in, and supplies a garbled or exaggerated copy of the original; but a theory deduced from the evidences of *feeling*, is as mythical as a myth itself.

For the immense mass of legendary matter that swells the early chronicles of Hellas, there are usually assigned three methods of interpretation: 1st. *The Literal*; 2ndly. *The Rationalistic* or *Allegorical*; 3rdly. *The Mythical*, which as we have observed considers the whole as purely fictitious matter, secreted from the Greek mind itself, with or without external stimulus. To these systems I shall add a fourth. *The Pictorial* or *Imitative*, of which I shall in the treatise referred to advance abundant evidences, and these evidences will still further have the effect of restoring some of the outlines of Grecian history, now nearly obliterated.

The theories of the Rationalists are doubtless applicable in many cases to the solution and explanation of the problems of Mythology. But it was reserved for Philology to draw aside the curtain that had so long concealed the sources and hidden meaning of most of these unrevealed mysteries. "This key, which has unlocked almost all the secrets of Mythology, was placed in our hands by Professor Max Müller, who has done more than all other writers to bring out the exquisite and touching poetry that underlies these ancient legends."† This he first explained in his "Essay

* This would appear to be the author's work "India in Greece, or Truth in Mythology," in the Introduction to which he says, "I shall prove incontrovertibly not only that the siege of Troy, the Argonautic expedition, the history of Heracles, the history of Theseus, nay, the whole busy crowded scene of early Hellas, were *distorted facts*, but I shall demonstrate that the centaurs were not mythical, that the Athenian claim to the symbol of the grasshopper was not mythical, that the Autochthons were not mythical, that the serpent Python was not mythical, that Cadmus and the dragon's teeth were not mythical, that Zeus was not mythical, that Apollo was not mythical, that the Pierian muses were not mythical, that Cecrops was neither legendary nor mythical, but as historical as King Harold."

† Cox's *Manual of Mythology*, p. xiv.

on Comparative Mythology," in the *Oxford Essays*, and subsequently in other works. He shows how the Sanskrit names for the Sun and the Dawn, in the ancient hymns of the Veda, explain a whole host of not only Greek but Teutonic legends. "My own researches," he says, "lead me again and again to the dawn and the sun, as the chief burden of the myths of the Aryan race." Again: "a whole world of primitive, natural, and intelligible mythology has been preserved to us in the Veda. The mythology of the Veda is to comparative mythology what Sanskrit has been to comparative Grammar. There is fortunately no system of religion or mythology in the Veda. Names are used in one hymn as Appellatives, in another as names of Gods. * * * There are as yet no genealogies, no settled marriages between Gods and Goddesses. As the conceptions of the Poet varied, so varied the nature of these Gods."

Before I consider objections to this system, as a complete explanation of the fables of Mythology, it will be desirable to give a fuller exposition of it, and illustrations. For this purpose I cannot do better than use the words of Mr. Cox before mentioned, and of two Reviewers of his work, and the theories he expounds. Mr. Cox in his Preface says:

"Mythology can be proved to be simply a collection of the sayings by which men once upon a time described whatever they saw and heard in countries where they lived. These sayings were all perfectly natural, and marvellously beautiful and true. We see the lovely evening twilight die out before the coming night, but when they saw this, they said that the beautiful Eurydike had been stung by the serpent of darkness, and that Orpheus was gone to fetch her back from the land of the dead. We see the light which had vanished in the west reappear in the east; but they said that Eurydike was now returning to the earth. And as this tender light is seen no more when the sun himself is risen, they said that Orpheus had turned round too soon to look at her, and so was parted from the wife whom he loved so dearly."

"And as it is with this sad and beautiful tale of Orpheus and Eurydike, so it is with all those which may seem to you coarse or dull or ugly. They are so only because the real meaning of the names has been half-forgotten or wholly lost. *Œdipus* and *Perseus*, we are told, killed their parents, but it is only because the sun was said to kill the darkness from which it seems to spring. So, again,

it was said that the sun was united in the evening to the light from which he rose in the morning ; but in the later story it was said that Œdipus became the husband of his mother Iocaste, and a terrible history was built upon this notion. But none of these fearful stories were ever made on purpose. No one ever sat down to describe gods and great heroes as doing things which all decent men would be ashamed to think of. There can scarcely be a greater mistake than to suppose that whole nations were suddenly seized with a strange madness which drove them to invent all sorts of ridiculous and contemptible tales, and that every nation has at some time or other gone mad in this way."

These views are amplified by an enthusiastic disciple of the new school,* whose arguments assume the form chiefly of a chain of rapid interrogatories that produce more perplexity than conviction ; that are hardly so satisfactory as Mr. Cox's Questions and Answers :—

The more intelligent can scarcely fail to see that the mythical heroes for the most part do and suffer the same things. Why, they may ask, are Œdipus and Paris, Telephus and Romulus, Cyrus and Perseus exposed immediately after their birth ? Why do they all unwittingly slay their parents ? Why is almost every one of them parted from his first love ? Why is he reunited to her when his life-long toil has reached its close ? Why are Heracles and Bellerophon, and Phœbus and Achilles made to serve and labour for beings meaner than themselves ? Why do they all bear invincible weapons ? Why do most of them die young ? Why do they journey from east to west, and meet their fate in the evening ? Why of all places in the world should Œdipus die in the grove of the Eumenides ? Why should he alone understand the mutterings of the Sphinx ? Why should the drought cease as soon as the Sphinx is killed ? Why should the Argonauts go to Colchis for the golden fleece, and the Achæians to Ilion to bring back Helen ? Why should the characters of Achilles, Paris, and Meleagros so closely resemble each other ? Why should Telemachus, Patroclus, and Phaeton be merely faint images of their father or their friend ? Why should Achilles have undying horses ? Why, on his return from Troy, should the one irrepressible impulse in the heart of Odysseus be the yearning to reach his home and see his wife once more ? Why should Penelope weave and unweave her web ? Why, when Odysseus wishes to see her, does she put off their meeting till the evening ? Why does the bull bear Europa from Phœnicia to Delphi ? Why should her mother be called Telephassa, and the mother of Telephos Augê ? Why should the nurse of Odysseus be Euryclia ?

* *The Chronicle* (a weekly review), April 6, 1867 : Art. Review of Dr. Smith's "Smaller Classical Mythology."

Why should Eos be jealous of Procris ; and why should Procris be slain in a thicket by the spear of Kephelos ? * * * *

The child will soon see that in those delightful books, Grimm's *Household Stories*, and Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, he has many of the Greek stories told him all over again, the names of places and persons being, in many cases, all that is changed, and the local colouring varied according to the climate where the myth has been developed. He will find that the tale of "Eros and Psyche" is that of "Beauty and the Beast," and that many of its incidents recur in the "Young Giant," in "Ashputtel," "The White Snake," "The Two Brothers," "The Woodcutter's Daughter," and other stories in Grimm's collection, as well as in "East of the Sun and West of the Moon," in that of Dasent. He will be struck still more forcibly with the parallelism which runs between the story of Sigurd in the "Volsung Lay," and the legends of Theseus, Perseus, Œdipus, Heracles, and a host of others. Why, he may ask, does Odin leave a sword which is to be borne by him only who can draw it out from the oak trunk, just as Ægeus leaves his sword under a stone which Theseus must raise before he can wield it ? Why is the sword of Sigurd reforged by Regin, the blacksmith of the King, just as Hephæstus makes new armour for Achilles ? Why does his mother, Hjordis, bring the sword to Sigurd just as Thetis brings the armour to her son Achilles ? Why should Sigurd have to slay a dragon, just as Apollo slays Python, and Perseus the Libyan monster, as Theseus kills the Minotaur, and Œdipus vanquishes the Sphinx, and Heracles throttles the snakes which attack him in his cradle ? Why should he, like Iamos and Melampus, understand the voices of birds ? Why should Brynhild, like Persephone, be wrapped in a six months' slumber ? Why is Sigurd the only one who can deliver her, as Perseus is the only one who can rescue Andromeda ? Why should he first plight his faith to Brynhild and then forsake her, just as Theseus leaves Ariadne, as Heracles departs from Iole, as Paris deserts Œnone ? Why should his faithlessness be followed by a punishment precisely the same as that which overtook Paris ? Why should Brynhild forgive and die with Sigurd as Œnone forgives and dies with Paris ? And why should the tale be repeated in the myth of Sigurd's son, Ragnar Lodbrog ?

The Reviewer having arrived at the last link of this lengthy interrogative concatenation, after some further remarks, gives the following instructive comparisons illustrative of the new system :

Whatever may be said of the comparative method of interpretation as a whole, a large number of inferences respecting the myths of the Greek and the Roman world have passed from the region of theory into that of fact. It is no mere "view" which maintains that the Greek Zeus-patêr is the Sanskrit Dyaus-pitar, from the root *dyu*, to shine. It is not a matter of doubt that the Homeric

Paris is the Vedic Pani, the seducer of Sarama, and that Sarama is the Spartan Helen, another form of the name being found in Hermes and Sarpedon, and all being traced to the root *sar*, to creep. There is no doubt, again, that the gloomy Erinyes of the Greek is the beautiful Saranyu, the creeping dawn light of the Veda, and that we have here the reason for the death of Œdipus in the sacred grove of the Eumenides. It is no mere theory which sees the Greek Eros in the Vedic Arusha, the newly-risen sun, represented as a lovely child, and which recognizes the graceful Charites in the Harits or glistening horses which draw the chariot of Indra across the heaven and reappear in the Xanthos and Balios who are yoked to the car of Achilles. There is no room for doubt that the Argive Phoroneus (who, by the way, is not admitted into this manual) is the same as the Vedic Bhuranyu, both being alike styled the givers of fire to men. In Cerberus or Kerberos, beyond all doubt, we have the Sanskrit Carvara, in Briscis the offspring of Brisaya, conquered by the bright powers, in the Veda, before they can recover the treasures stolen by Pani. In Athena, again, and in Daphne we have the Ahana, (Dahana), or morning goddess of the Indian land, and in Ouranos the mysterious Varuna who spreads his veil over the broad earth beneath him. It is no random guess which sees in Argynnis, the beloved of Agamemnon, the Sanskrit *arjuni* (the brilliant, a name for the dawn), and in Ares and Mars, the Aloadae and Moliones, recognizes the Sanskrit Maruts and the Teutonic Thor Miölnir. As little is there room for doubt that the Vedic Ahi, the Greek Echidna, becomes the Persian Azidahâka, or Zohak; that Vritra, another name for Ahi, the cloud enemy of Indra, becomes the Persian Verethra, while his slayer, Vritrahan, reappears in Verethragna and the modern Feridûn.

The *Saturday Review* of March 2 and 16, 1867, contains lengthy reviews of Mr. Cox's work; this high critical authority remarks "That the researches of comparative mythologists, so well summed up in Mr. Cox's *Manual of Mythology*, are in the main tending in the right direction, is, we believe, admitted by all whose opinion on such matters carries much weight," and for the most part acquiesces in the views of the new school. Its observations therefore may be appropriately produced as authoritatively indicating and further exemplifying them:

If we read in Greek mythology that Helios was the brother of Eos and Selene, this needs no commentary. Helios means the sun, Eos the dawn, Selene the moon; nor does it require any great stretch of poetical imagination to understand how these three heavenly apparitions came to be called brother and sisters. But if we read that Apollo loved Daphne, that Daphne fled before him and

was changed into a laurel-tree, we have here a myth before us which yields no sense till we know the original meaning of Apollo and Daphne. Now Apollo was a solar deity, and although comparative philologists have not yet succeeded in finding the true etymology of Apollo, no doubt can exist as to his original character. The name of Daphne, however, could not have been interpreted without the aid of comparative philology, and it is not till we know that Daphne was originally a name of the dawn, that we begin to understand the meaning of the myth. It was by taking myths which were still half intelligible, like those of Apollo and Daphne, Selene and Endymion, Eos and Tithonos, that the first advance was made towards a right interpretation of Greek and Roman legends. If we read that Pan was wooing Pitys, and that Boreas, jealous of Pan, cast Pitys from a rock, and that in her fall she was changed into a pine-tree, we need but walk with our eyes open along the cliffs of Bournemouth in order to see the meaning of that myth. Boreas is the Greek for north-wind, Pitys for pine-tree. But what is Pân? Clearly another deity representing the wind in its less destructive character. The same Pan is called the lover of the nymph Echo, and of Syrinx. Why Pan, the wind, should be called the lover of Echo, requires no explanation. * * *

Mr. Cox has well delineated the general character of the most popular heroes of ancient mythology:—"In a very large number of legends [he says], the parents, warned that their own offspring will destroy them, expose their children, who are saved by some wild beast and brought up by some herdsman. The children so recovered always grow up beautiful, brave, strong, and generous; but, either unconsciously or against their will, they fulfil the warnings given before their birth, and become the destroyers of their parents. Perseus, Œdipus, Cyrus, Romulus, Paris, are all exposed as infants, are all saved from death, and discovered by the splendour of their countenances and the dignity of their bearing. Either consciously or unconsciously Perseus kills Acrisios, Œdipus kills Laios, Cyrus kills Astyages, Romulus kills Amulius, and Paris brings about the ruin of Priam and the city of Troy." Mr. Cox shows that all these names are solar names, and that the mythical history of every one of these heroes is but a disguise of language. * * * Certain names, expressions, and phrases sprang up, originally intended to describe the changes of the day and the seasons of the year; after a time these phrases became traditional, idiomatic, proverbial; they ceased to be literally understood, and were misunderstood and misinterpreted into mythical phraseology. At first the phrase "Perseus will kill Acrisios" meant no more than that light will conquer darkness, that the sun will annihilate the night, that the morn is coming. If each day was called the child of the night, it might be truly said that the young child was destined to kill its parents, that Œdipus must kill Laios. And if the violet twilight, Iokaste, was called the wife of the nocturnal Laios, the same name of Iokaste, as the violet dawn, might be given to the wife of Œdipus. Hence that strangely entangled skein of mythological sayings which poets and philoso-

phers sought to disentangle as well as they could, and which at last was woven into that extraordinary veil of horrors which covers the real sanctuary of Greek religion.

But if this be so—and strange as it may sound at first, the evidence brought in support of this interpretation of mythology is irresistible—it would seem to follow that Perseus, and Œdipus, and Paris, and Romulus could none of them claim any historical reality. Most historians might be prepared to give up Perseus, Œdipus, and Paris, perhaps even Romulus and Remus; but what about Cyrus? Cyrus, like the other solar heroes, is known to be a fatal child; he is exposed, he is saved, and suckled, and recognized, and restored to his royal dignity, and by slaying Astyages he fulfils the solar prophecy as completely as any one of his compeers. Yet, for all that, Cyrus was a real man, an historical character, whose flesh and bone no sublimating process will destroy. Here then we see that mythology does not always create its own heroes, but that it lays hold of real history, and coils itself round it so closely that it is difficult, nay, almost impossible, to separate the ivy from the oak, or the lichen from the granite to which it clings.

The discovery that a large portion of the myths and legends of almost all parts of the globe, can be traced to a Sanskrit poem, one of the oldest writings in the world, and dating at least 1200 B. C., may well be looked on as startling. It is a discovery that sheds a flood of light over the whole field of Literature, ancient and modern: it illumines the history of the human intellect, of the origin and progress of ideas, more even than the Laws of the Evolution of Thought, laid down by Auguste Comte. It stands in the same relation to Theology and Mental Philosophy, that the theory of Gravitation, and the Darwinian theory of Origin of Species, do to Physical Science. It testifies to the paucity of our original simple ideas, and shows the mental process and filiation of the marvellous combinations and metamorphoses which are produced in Man's mental laboratory.

But though this Discovery is pregnant with yet undeveloped importance, and explains a host of world-wide legends, yet the school of Comparative Mythologists, to whom it has given birth, like the enthusiasts of a new Doctrine, extend its application beyond its limits, when they attempt to resolve all unaccredited histories, all unattested narratives, all traditionary heroes and tales, into solar myths, embellished by fancy and distorted by fic-

tion. Such exaggeration is like the endeavour to ascertain weight by measure, to explain the phenomena of electricity by the law of gravitation.

The Veda is a poem that personifies the Sun in its boundless influences and relations. Poetry, ancient and modern, is full of Personification. The description of the various aspects and diversified affinities of natural objects and of the Powers of Nature, is natural to the poetical faculty and one of its first inspirations. But such a poem as the Veda could not have been composed till after a very considerable advance in civilization and intellectual culture. It must have been coincident with, and posterior to a mass of ballad literature and poetry, commemorating a variety of subjects. It is not difficult to understand why before writing was generally practised, one great work should have survived its contemporaries, as the *Iliad* did, and as the Hebrew Sacred Writings did other writings mentioned in them, and as even since the art of Printing, new works have superseded old, and many have altogether perished. The Veda from its excellence and its religious character, became sacred and was preserved. Other writings of inferior interest and value ceased to be handed down, and were finally forgotten. The bulk of the literature of the middle ages is religious or semi-religious. The proportion of popular ballads is small compared with the *Lives and Legends of the Saints*. Religion has in all times absorbed or tried to absorb, when it could not extinguish and exclude, secular literature. It has displaced or transformed what it considered could not be consistently embodied in the teachings of its priesthood, or stood in competition with the lessons it inculcated.*

* After Christianity genealogists deduced their heroes not from Woden but Noah; these genealogies sprung not from any erroneous historical data, but from the turn of the religious feeling. * * Christian writers such as Saxo Grammaticus and Snorro Sturleson committed to writing the ancient oral songs of the Scandinavian scalds. —Grote's *Hist. of Greece* (i. 620).

From the introduction of Christianity [into Ireland] all literature or written matter remained in the custody of ecclesiastics, the legends of the Bards having been orally communicated. * * We read

What has become then of the history of mankind—of its heroes, its benefactors, its contests, and its deeds?

that St. Patrick caused more than 180 volumes of ancient Irish theology to be burned.—Keane's *Temples and Towers of Ireland*, p. 45.

Not only the buildings and localities connected with the worship, but the customs and traditions of Heathenism passed over to Christian uses. Heathen feasts became saints' days; legends of the Heathen gods became ascribed to Christian mythical saints, and the localities venerated on account of their association with Heathen legends and worship, became the favourite sites of Christian churches and monasteries. (Ibid. p. 30.) The so called Christian saints of the 5th and 6th centuries of Ireland, with the exception of St. Patrick and a few others, were the divinities or hero gods worshipped by the Cuthites, Scythians, etc., and Cuthite superstitions traditionally preserved were the origin of Irish legendary hagiology. (Ibid. Introduction p. xx.) Thus Dagon the god of the Philistines becomes St. Dagan; Cronos the Titan, St. Cronan; Vulcain, (= Tubal-Cain) St. Bolcain; Shanaun, the ancient Ana (Di-ana) the mother of the gods, St. Shanaun; and Canaan, St. Cainan. (Ibid.)

Architecture and Sculpture have contributed largely to the preservation of the symbols and allegorical figures of extinct or superseded modes of faith. "Turner in his *Antiquities of Normandy* describing sculptures on the capitals of St. George's church, Boher-ville, says 'Another appears to allude to the battle between the followers of Æneas and the Harpies. It would not perhaps be going too far to say that many of the others have reference to the Northern Mythology, and some of them probably to Scandinavian history.' Some of the ornaments which Turner describes as Heathen are among the devices which Mr. Keane explains as illustrations of Cuthite mythology. These conclusions are further corroborated by the fact that St. Michael's mount—the site of an ancient Norman church of much celebrity—is stated in Mr. Turner's work, according to tradition, to have been devoted to the worship of the great luminary of Heaven, under his Gaelic name Balenus, a title probably derived from the Hebrew Baal." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1868.)

There are two pieces of early sculpture on the western wall of the south aisle of St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich. They are evidently taken from an earlier structure, possibly from the church of St. Michael, which is supposed to have occupied this site. St. Michael on foot with wings sword and shield, encounters a dragon; above is the figure of a boar. (Journ. of Arch. Association i. 146.)

Mr. King in his "Manual of Antique Gems" (p. 140) tells us that "the monks of Durham took the head of Jupiter Fulgurator for St. Oswald, and as such placed it on their common seal with the title *Caput Sancti Oswaldi*. * * Seffrid Bp. of Chichester who died 1159, chose for his actual episcopal ring the figure of the serpent-legged Abraxas deity, rudely engraved on jasper." [Other instances of this kind given by Mr. King are quoted in Chap. IV. p. 37.]

It must have been composed; it must have been traditionally handed down; after the invention of writing, it

And (p. 100) he remarks "Primitive Christianity has been as remarkably unproductive in glyptic monuments as its great rival the Gnosis has been fruitful. The latter well described as the '*spirit*' of the ancient religions warring against the Church," had availed itself of all their machinery, and notably of the powerful media, talismans and annulets, to establish its empire over the soul. Whereas the former regarded with horror every representation of the human form. * * Clemens Alexandrinus, writing in the middle of the second century, restricts the choice of devices on signets, to a few simple emblems, as the anchor, lyre, ship under sail, the dove and the fisherman. * * The anchor had been the family badge of the Seleucidæ; from them their former slaves, the Asmonæan kings of Judæa, adopted it as their type on their coinage, and thence it descended to the Christians, being furthermore recommended by the similarity of its outline to the cross. The lyre was the engraving on the most celebrated signet of all antiquity, the emerald of Polycrates. The ship pointed out that life is but a voyage. The Dove had been ever to Assyrians and Persians the special emblem of the Godhead." Indeed a long chapter or a volume might be written in exemplification of the embodiments of the symbols, the doctrines, the rites and ceremonies of one Religion by another. Mr. King, in his work *Gnostics and their Remains* (Preface p. vi.) observes "In the history of the first four centuries of the church everything that was denounced as heretical may be traced up to Indian speculative philosophy as its genuine fountain head: how much that passed current for orthodox had really flowed from the same source it is neither expedient nor decorous now to inquire."

It was not unusual for St. Patrick to dedicate Pagan monuments to the honour of God. Pope Gregory the Great recommended that the temples of the Pagans should not be destroyed—only the idols (Keane).

Many of the designs in sculpture and in fresco found in the catacombs [at Rome] which have been conceived to be symbols veiling some religious dogma or principle, are nothing more than adoptions or copies of pagan personifications and customs by their Christian successors. How else are we to interpret the draped figure standing before an altar on which a fire is kindled, and presenting a dish of fruits to a serpent, carved on a sarcophagus, combined with representations of incidents in the New Testament, the introduction in like manner of Orpheus etc. in the paintings? In the sculpture of early Christian art we find much is borrowed from heathen myths. In the story of Jonah, the storm is personified by a Triton blowing through a shell; Iris over the sail indicates the tranquillity that followed the ejection of the prophet, and the fish is copied from sculptures representing Andromeda and the sea-monster. Similar inconsistencies occur in representation of passages in the history of Noah, Daniel, etc. The common type of the Good

must have been recorded on brass and stone, on papyrus or other material. It could not, in its most striking incidents, its memorable deeds, and its extraordinary actors, have altogether perished and been forgotten. It must have mingled with, have been embodied and transformed in the legends and myths, the narratives and poems that the pen and the memory of countless ages have preserved for us through the wrecks caused by the devastating hand of Time.*

To disentangle then, and eliminate if possible, the historical from the mythical element of legendary tales, whether mythological or purely allegorical, is the task set before the historical archæologist, and the comparative mythologist. This however by some is considered impracticable. Sir C. Lewis, justly condemning Niebuhr's historical divination, or plan of reconstructing history by extruding all that is miraculous and mythical and inconsistent, and regarding the residuum as probable fact, considers all endeavours thus to get at the truth as futile, and that no legend or narrative however inherently probable is at all trustworthy, unless corroborated by cotemporary witnesses. Mr. Grote adopts the same view. "As to what degree of truth" he says "there there may be in these tales it is impossible to ascertain, and useless to inquire." But these sweeping estimates

Shepherd seems suggested by some of the popular pictures of Pan, and partly perhaps from those of Orpheus.—Review of Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs* in *Archæological Journal*, ii. 396.

* The Niebelungen Lied of the 12th century embodies the solar myths of the Edda, and localizes and individualizes them in the persons and places of Burgundy, during the 4th 5th and 6th centuries. Gunther is localized in Burgundy, where A.D. 435 a real Gunther was king. Other historical persons were drawn into the vortex of the popular story, for whom there was no precedent at all in the Edda.

* * There are evidently historical facts round which the myth of Herakles has crystallized, only we cannot substantiate them so clearly as in the myth of the Niebelungen, because we have there no cotemporary historical documents. As the chief Herakles is represented as belonging to the royal family of Argos, there may have been a Herakles, perhaps the son of a king called Amphitryo, whose descendants after a temporary exile reconquered that part of Greece which had formerly been under the sway of Herakles.—Max Müller's *Comparative Mythology*.

of what is possible and desirable, are surely unworthy of these eminent writers. They seem impatient to get away from exploring ruins and tracing foundations, and hurry on to contemplate and study the more complete remains left standing,—structures only partially shattered, and temples imposing even in their dilapidation. But this movement from one extreme to another must beget a reaction. As Mr. Gladstone says “We once exalted into history the general mass of traditions relating to the ages which next preceded those of continuous historic records. We now again decline the labour of discrimination, and reduce them all alike into legend.”* The remains of antiquity, whether verbal or material, are too precious to be tossed aside as a heap of rubbish undeserving of examination. The *disjecta membra* of history, the utilizing and re-constructive spirit of the age will not allow thus to perish. Philology and Geology would never have become sciences, and let such light into the Past, if this spirit of Neglect and Contempt had prevailed against the ardour and the hope of their students.

The names of men and places mixed up in these mythical tales are not all names of the Dawn and the Sun,—of the Ocean into which he sinks at night, of the Sky from which he “cometh out in the morning like a bridegroom from his chamber.” We have local names which Geography verifies, and personal names which History attests. If Philology has proved many personal names to be the names in Sanskrit of the Sun and the Dawn, may it not be able to inform us whence come and what mean the local names of mythology? Mr. Pococke in his ingenious but neglected work, *India in Greece*, has shown a large number of the geographical names of Greece to be identical with those of India. This indeed might be expected when the mythology of Greece is shown to have come also from the same country. But what mean these Indian names of places? The eponyms of Greece are clearly fictions. But were those of India?†

* Oxford Essays, 1857. p. 49.

† In the east Tribal and even Ethnic names were certainly some-

How names of men arose, how they imposed them on towns they built, and countries they colonized, will be explained in another chapter. The names then of persons that cannot be traced up to appellatives and epithets in Sanskrit, and of places that cannot be discovered in names of inanimate objects, may be justly placed in the category of names of real men and real places. The names of the Iliad have all a Greek sound and form. That is a strong presumption that no real Trojan heroes of a real Trojan war existed. But we get a Greek nomenclature, and can analyse it as we can the nomenclature of Domesday book, where we find distinct Saxon and distinct Norman names. So in Froissart, the warriors of the English King Edward have an English sound, and of the French King Philip, a French aspect. We are enabled in this way, by Philology and Geography, to separate the names of persons and places of Mythology, and to assign to each class its origin; that is to say, these are the labours that must engage the attention of the students of Philology, Geography, and Ethnology, in order to disentangle from the Labyrinth of Mythology the threads of real history with which it is undoubtedly entwined.

These labours I conceive will be materially assisted by Heraldry—by taking into account the hereditary and permanent emblems of chiefs and nations and tribes, as discoverable in the ways pointed out in this work, and above all, by viewing them in connection with religious symbols, and the attributes of mythological deities.

I now propose therefore to show the bearing of Heraldry on Mythology. Indeed, when investigation shows that there is scarcely any ancient heraldic charge or

times derived from actual persons; and it may be questioned whether the Persians or the Iranian stock generally had the notion of inventing personal eponyms. There are no heroës eponymi in the Zendavesta, and none in any genuine Persian tradition. The Perses from whom the Greeks derived the nation or their kings was no real Persian hero. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iv. 351.) Cyrus was of the clan of the Achæmenidæ, cotemporary with six great houses which had priority of all other grandees. (Ibid. iv. 179.)

bearing that is not found amongst the symbols of the religions of antiquity, this connection requires no demonstration. But what has never before been attempted, is to show that almost all these emblems connected with mythology had originally a purely heraldic significance, that is, were the chosen marks or insignia of warrior chieftains, and *subsequently* became of sacred and mystic import.

All the infinite forms of the pre-Christian Cross had their origin in the Phallus.* This and the corresponding member, known in Hindoo idolatry, as the Lingam and Yoni, could never originally have become sacred symbols, and been worshipped as such, on account of their representing the reproductive function. We do not find the five senses typified, and their representative symbols made objects of religious regard, except perhaps as a whole, and unless the five globes sometimes placed pyramid-wise and at others in the form of a cinquefoil in Hindoo Temples may be considered to have that significance.† The eye, the ear, the heart, the nose, the mouth are not found in any system of Religion as typical objects of idolatry. The human hand alone, with the exceptions named, has had a sacred symbolical import as

* There are now no means of determining at what particular epoch in the world's history, the worship of the lingam in India, of Poerapis in Egypt, of the Phallus in Greece, or Priapus in Rome originated. But according to the received chronology of the Bible, the worship of Baal Peor prevailed among the Moabites 1450 B.C. or long before it was introduced into Europe.—*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1867.

The Phallus has been observed among the idols of the native Americans (Lafitan, *Mœurs des Sauvages*) and ancient Scandinavians. The 1st of May was a great Phallic festival among the ancient Britons and Hindoos; it being still celebrated with nearly the same rites in both countries.—Payne Knight's *Inquiry*, etc. p. 14.

† The following lines from the Hymn to Cama, God of Love, translated by Sir Wm. Jones (Vans Kennedy, *Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 297) seem to indicate that the sacred ornament of the cinquefoil, decorating Hindoo deities, Assyrian monarchs, and the robes of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings, symbolized the five senses:

He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string,
With bees, how sweet! but ah! how keen their sting!
He with five flowerets tips thy ruthless darts,
Which through five senses pierce enraptured hearts.

we have seen in Mexico, in Ireland, and on the Roman standards. And this from the same cause doubtless as the Phallus had. Mutilation is one of the first modes of wreaking vengeance on the body of a vanquished enemy, amongst a savage and barbarous people. The horrors of the Indian Mutiny witnessed many instances of this vindictive practice, and it will be remembered that in the Affghan war the person of Sir William Macnaghten was treated with the greatest possible indignity. It is quite in accordance with this savage instinct, that in pre-historic times some Paris, in some great war arising as the Trojan war did, might have been conquered, captured, and mutilated, and a trophy have been exhibited, which gave rise to the worship of the Phallus; and that in another case the right hand of some great offender have been cut off and carried in triumph as a trophy.

Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa : sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.*

It is just such *accidents*† as these that exalt into importance the meanest object; and afterwards Time consecrates the distinction.

Subsequently when an inventive priesthood extended the forms and ceremonies of religious worship, it may be conceived that the grossness of the idolatry in question would be mitigated by giving it a new form, and making it complete as a symbolical representation of the general reproductive powers of Nature. This produced the *cruz ansata* of the Egyptians, and eventually the plain cross in all its infinite diversity of forms.

In the plates of Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon* are figured the Sectarial marks or Symbols of the Buddhist priests; amongst these are the Triangle, two Triangles intersected,

* Hor. Sat. iii. 107-110.

† The blacksmith's leather apron was thus suddenly adopted by the Persians as a standard; and Homer tells us that Agamemnon

lifted in his hand
His purple robe, bright ensign of command.
(Pope's Iliad viii. 269-70.)

a circle within a triangle, a triangle within a circle, the crescent, the Fylfot or Buddhist mystic cross,* the cinquefoil, ANNULET, and an oval annulet. This latter was another form of the Yoni, and was no doubt the type of the heraldic mascle, which is met with frequently amongst the Roman legionary emblems.

The FLEUR DE LIS† had its origin in the lotus‡ flower

* The Fylfot is found universally spread amongst the hieroglyphics of Egypt; in the grave chambers of Etruria, and on the Scandinavian Runic stones and staffs, as well as on our own pre-historic coins, and those of Gaul. It is found in three varying types,—in the common four-bent arms, in the triangular shape, and by three curved lines.—Paper on Runes, by the late Dr. Wm. Bell in *Journal of Archæological Association* (xxiii. 387).

† The fleur de lis is found in remains from Babylon, and in sculptures from Nineveh. It is sometimes seen on the crowns of the Byzantine Empresses, and is often met with at Constantinople in the paintings of the early Greek artists (*Archæologia*, vol. 35: Art. by Mr. Wylie "On the Angon or Barbed Javelin of the Franks"). Montfaucon in his great work gives engravings of the statues of the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian kings, on whose sceptres and crowns the fleur de lis is distinctly represented. But it is remarkable that it does not occur on the ancient Greek or Roman shields.

‡ The cathedrals and churches of Spain bear in addition to their peculiar arms, those of the Virgin, the Isis of Spain, a branch of lilies issuing from a vase with two handles (*un jarro de acucenas*: the word *azucena* is Arabic, and derived from the root *zuzan* chaste.) The true explanation of this hieroglyphic is the incarnation of the deity born of a virgin, the issue of the woman *alone*. It is a revival of the water-lily, the lotus, the symbol of the fecundity and reproductive power of nature. This *Lucina sine concubitu* has been immemorially connected in the most ancient creeds with certain mandrakes, bulbs and flowers. The lotus is emblematic of the fertility of the Nile,—the self-created deity arose from its petals. Harpocrates with finger on lip, and seated in the flower, indicated the generation of all things, and the divine principle of life. The lotus was the emblem of Isis and Ganga, the goddess of the Nile and the Ganges. In the Hindoo Sheeva Purana, Vishnu when about to create the universe produced a lotus, from the unfolded flowers of which the incarnate Bramah proceeded. Therefore the kernel was held sacred by the Brahmins. This mystery was revealed to Pythagoras by the Indian priests; on his return he substituted the Bean, because the lotus did not grow in Greece. The bridal couch of Jupiter and Juno is described by Homer as strewn with the lotus flower. Lotis the virgin daughter of Neptune was changed into this flower when flying from the love of Priapus. Juno becomes the mother of Mars solely by touching this flower. In the middle ages an idea was prevalent that any

which is frequently seen in the Hindoo temples, and had various mystical meanings typifying the reproductive energies of Nature.

The MULLET, or star, and CRESCENT of course represented the Sun and Moon, and when they occur in conjunction, as they often do, on ancient medals, they signified the union of the Solar and Lunar worship.

We have considered in a previous chapter (II.) what was probably the origin of the heraldic bearings of CHEQUY, PALY, LOZENGY, CHEVRONNY, etc. A simple chevron, bar, or pale, which in heraldry are styled Ordinaries, was evidently nothing more than a reduction to one on a shield, that originally had the whole field occupied with a number of them.

The ESCALLOP SHELL, is scarcely if at all met with in ancient Heraldry. It perhaps had its origin in the leaf-like figure inscribed with 5 chevrons so often met with in Assyrian ornamentation.* It occurs on coins of Zancle.† It would appear to have had some significance in connection with the dead, or with funeral rites, for a leaden coffin of the Roman period found near Colchester is impressed with this object and an annulet *sans nombre*;‡ and another found in Battersea fields, was entirely covered with impressions of the escallop.§

The serpent or dragon in Mythology, and ancient Heraldry, was remarkably conspicuous. In Mediæval or Modern Heraldry it is singularly rare, though the convo-

female who ate the common lily would become pregnant. A mysterious importance has been long attached to the lily in Spain. A.D. 1043, Garcia VI of Navarre founded at Najera, the Order of our Lady and the Lily, on the occasion of the discovery of an image of the Virgin issuing from that flower with the infant in her arms.—*Quarterly Review*, June, 1838.

* It is not easy to account for the origin of the shell as a badge worn by pilgrims, but it decidedly refers to much earlier oriental customs than the journeys of Christians to the Holy Land, and its history will probably be found in the mythology of eastern nations. It was an ancient symbol of Astarte.—Clarke's *Travels in Greece*, p. 538.

† Numismatic Chronicle i. 40.

‡ Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. ii. 297.

§ Ibid. vii. 376, and iii. 308.

lutions of its body have formed a mode of ornamentation in beautiful interlaced work characteristic of Celtic and Irish art that undoubtedly resulted in the heraldic bearing of FRETTEY, which in antiquity is discovered only in Mexico and Assyria. In the *Archæologia* (vol. 36) is an article "On the Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia" by W. M. Wylie Esq., who observes—

"The serpent forms sculptured on the coffin lids would alone suffice to convince us of the Heathen-Teutonic character of their graves, even if all further evidence were wanting. In the old legends and superstitions of Germany and Scandinavia the serpent dragon is a very favourite myth. * * The serpent was sacred to Odin. The serpent ornamentation occurs on the Bauta and Runic stones on old Scandinavian ships and on articles of dress. * * Under the image of a golden serpent the Lombards who came from the north of Germany appear to have worshipped Odin himself. The Lithuanians, too, appear to have worshipped the serpent. In fact it would appear that the tribes of Northern Germany and Slavonia generally regarded the serpent with feelings of superstitious reverence and awe. * * But the serpent myth of Greeks, Romans, and Scandinavians was possibly derived from one primeval source."*

* In the *Archæologia* (vol. 25) are "Observations on Dracontia" by Rev. J. B. Deane, from which the following are extracts:—

"The hieroglyph of the Sun was a circle. The temples of the Sun were circular. The Arkites adored the personified Ark of Noah. Their temples were built in the form of a ship. The Ophites adored a serpent deity; the temple assumed the figure of a serpent. The Ophite hieroglyph was variously delineated. The most common form was the serpent passing through a globe or circle, or two serpents issuing from it in opposite directions. * * The worship of the Sun and the Serpent were originally independent of each other, but were subsequently united, and afterwards merged into one, the worship of Apollo. The legend of Apollo taking possession of the temple at Delphi alludes to the subversion of Python, the worship of the serpent by the worshippers of the sun: but the Pythian priestess, the Dracontic tripod, and the live serpents were kept in adyta of the temple. The dominant religion in every country has adopted some of the usages of the superseded ritual, and the victors have uniformly planted the standard of their faith on the sacred places of the vanquished. * * In almost every old city of Christendom, the Christian church is built on the site of a heathen temple, as if it were a postulate of natural religion that a spot once set apart for religious uses should be consecrated for ever.

The hostility between the Sun and the Serpent, between the good and evil genius may be traced in Persia, in India, in Greece, in Mexico and Peru, in all of which countries the worshippers of the Sun prevailed over and nearly exterminated those of the serpent.

This wide diffusion of Serpent-worship is remarkable, and apparently inexplicable: and so is the veneration

In Colonel Tod's *History of Rajahstan*, we have an account of the persecutions which the Snake worshippers experienced from the rest of their countrymen; and the Indian mythology is full of the enmity of the children of Surya (the Sun) against the followers of Budh, the Serpent.

The constant enmity of the rival religions is strikingly illustrated by the Etruscan vases found on the estate of Canino in Italy. Upon several of these vases are depicted contending warriors, some of whose shields are charged with the device of an eagle, the symbol of the children of Surya, while others bear the serpent, the emblem of Budh, and these are invariably opposed to each other, the eagle being generally if not always victorious. * * The word *Draco* originally meant Avenue of the Sun, afterwards a large Serpent.

The portals of all the Egyptian temples are decorated with the same hierogram of the circle and the serpent. We find it also on the temple of Naki-Rustan in Persia, upon the triumphal arch at Pekin in China, over the gates of the great temple of Chandi Sewu in Java, upon the walls of Athens, and in the Temple of Minerva, at Tegea, for the Medusa's head is nothing more than the Ophite hierogram with its circle filled up by the human face. The Mexican hierogram is formed by the intersection of two great serpents which describe the circle with their bodies, and have each a human head in its mouth. The Gorgon was sacred to Minerva, but when the serpents are turned about with a winged rod, it is the Caduceus of Mercury."

There is no figure more conspicuous on Irish sculpture, or more frequently met with than that of the Serpent. It is found every where sculptured profusely on Crosses, Temple doorways, etc. The country abounds also with legends of contests between serpents and the heroes or the saints of Ireland. * * Mehadeo is the name of a mountain in Cashmere, and there is a fable that every place from whence it can be seen is free from snakes; and yet in that same country there are no less than 700 carved figures of snakes which are worshipped. Is it not a singular coincidence that in Ireland also, where no living serpents exist, such numerous legends of serpents should abound, and that figures of serpents should be so profusely used to ornament Irish sculpture? There is scarcely a cross, or a handsome piece of ancient Irish ornamental work which has not got its serpent or dragon. (Keane's *Temples and Towers of Ireland*, pp. 156-8.)

Everywhere [in the lately discovered temple of Nakon Wat in Cambodia] the Snake God appears. Every angle of every roof is adorned with an image of the seven-headed snake, and there are hundreds of them; every cornice is composed of snake's heads; every convolution of the roofs,—and there are thousands—terminates in a five or seven-headed snake. The balustrades are snakes, and the ridge of every roof was apparently adorned with gilt dragons.—Fergusson's *History of Architecture* ii. 725.

in which the Beetle was held by the Egyptians.* And the respect paid to the cat and the ape by the same people is unaccountable, whilst the nobler animals and birds, as the horse and the eagle, seem to have been slighted by them. The regard paid to the human hand as an emblem by the Romans and Mexicans as previously noticed: the adoption by the Janissaries of a camp-kettle for their ensign, of a blacksmith's Leather Apron by the Persians for their standard, the use of parti-coloured shields by the ancient Germans, and their retention by princely and noble houses at the present day as cherished insignia,—all these instances are wanting in the characteristic of symbolism, and cannot therefore be supposed to have originated from that principle. They must have been (indeed some of them certainly were) accidental selections, and others of low and obscure origin, which afterwards from circumstances became celebrated and sacred. It is the same with Names of persons, of offices, and places, in their origin mean and obscure, afterwards far-famed and illustrious.

Ignorance of this obscure and accidental origin begets attempts to glorify the consecrated symbol, to give it fanciful meanings, to ascribe to it solemn significations and mysterious virtues. Astrology, Alchemy, Augury, the Typology of Scripture, are analogous specimens of the phantasies of the human mind, when straying from the path of inductive inquiry, and roving in the wilderness of fancy. The imaginary and allegorical meanings of the colours of Heraldry,† laid down by former

The worship of the serpent preceded Buddhism in Northern Europe as in India; while in historical times we can trace Tree worship without a break from Anaradhapura in Ceylon, to Upsala in Sweden; and in Northern Europe, Nidhoegg the Abyss worm lay coiled at the foot of the tree Yggdrasil.—Captain Burton's *Mission to the King of Dahomey*.

* The mystic Scarabæus born out of the mud became the emblem of the Sun and its creative agency. It is quite difficult for us to understand how it could ever come to be associated with such ideas. We have to throw ourselves back into a stage of human progress, a phase of human thought, the most utterly unlike any that comes within our experience.—Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

† The colours of the shield and of the charges indicated moral

writers on the subject, are also instances of this perverted ingenuity.

The Serpent undoubtedly symbolizes numerous qualities and peculiarities ; but not the attributes which characterize it in the interpretations of the mythologists. As we have seen, in their interpretations it is almost always typical of night, of darkness, of evil :

“ Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born,
In Stygian cave forlorn,
'Mongst horrid shapes and shrieks and sights unholy,
Where brooding darkness spreads his jealous wings,
And the night raven sings.”

Its nature however as noticed in Scripture is different : it is described as “ being more subtle than any beast of the field ;” and we read of “ the wisdom of the serpent.” All the solar heroes in Mythology have an antagonist in the Serpent or the Dragon : yet its nature is to bask in the Sun, and it loves warmth and light. It is obvious that originally, as a symbol chosen by a poet, the serpent never could have typified the principle of Darkness as opposed to Light. The owl or the bat would have been far more appropriate. How is it then that this “ beast of the field ” plays such an important part as a physical symbol and a moral type, in every form of Religion, in every Mythology on the face of the globe ? In accordance with the theories developed in this work, and the facts produced, I would reply simply, That it is owing to the Serpent having been adopted as an emblem in pre-historic time by some chieftain, whose race became famous and their dominion extended ; and which eventually, as the Eagle of the Romans accompanied their victorious legions in all their conquests, so this became the sacred standard in some great religious war, where the opposite faith fought under a banner with a different symbol. It is the Eagle, the emblem of Jupiter, that we see in the earliest coins flying away with a serpent

qualities : gold denoted longevity ; silver, fame ; gules, resolution ; azure, wit ; vert, joy ; sable, abstinence, etc.

in its claws,*—the symbol of the subjection in their turn of the serpent-worshipping races so frequently typified. History records religious wars spread over half the globe: the fierce contest between the crescent and the cross, between Islamism and Christianity in the 7th and 8th centuries; the antagonism between the lunar and solar races in India and Attica; the struggle for mastery between Buddhism and Brahmanism in Asia, are known and recorded cases of strife between contending faiths. Were there none then in pre-historic times? The Veda was composed at a time when the Aryan race had multiplied exceedingly, and a considerable advance had been made in civilization. Might it not have been written to celebrate the triumph of a great religious party?† What meaning in the nature of things has much of its imagery? The Serpent as a type of darkness; the Harits or Horses as drawing the chariot of the Sun; Cows going out to pasture as signifying the fleecy clouds dispersed by the rising sun? These are not natural and appropriate images. The fleecy clouds would be better compared with sheep; and the sun's chariot as drawn by eagles. Is there no allusion here to the Horse which was sacrificed to the Sun; to the Cow‡ or the Bull which was a sacred animal in the East?

* This is said to be "a remarkable and uncommon specimen of the coinage of Elis. It belongs to an archaic period, probably as early at least as the commencement of the Peloponnesian war."—*Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. i. 107.

† It is highly probable that the popular epics of India were the composition of some of the dominant priesthood, in which their vanquished opponents were sung as Rakshas or Demons; and though these names may have at one time borne a different meaning to that affixed to it by the priestly poet, the flexible nature of his language enabled him thus to affix a stigma upon the vanquished party, in the same manner that the Greeks found no difficulty in finding an etymology to suit any favourite theory or legend. When prominent epic names therefore reappear in Greece, they may in fact have had originally a meaning different from that which we now obtain through such writings; for considered as a matter of even pure mythology, nothing can exceed the strong party feeling everywhere apparent.—Pococke's *Early History of Greece*, p. 34.

‡ In the cattle of Helios and their extraordinary sacredness, Mr.

Again, as symbolical animals, or as suitable poetical images, what have the wolf and the bear to do with the Sun? Mr. Max Müller says *Riksha* in Sanskrit means a Star and a Bear: and remarks, "We don't see why of all other animals the Bear should have been called the Bright Animal." No, of course not, from inherent qualities: but if we believe that the emblem of every tribe or race was associated with the worship of the Sun, and hence became sacred, we can easily see why the bear, the wolf, or any other animal or object, should have been figuratively called Bright or Shining. Mr. Cox (Manual, p. 121) has a different explanation:

"Callisto (the fairest) is a daughter of Arcas the bright one; but the root from which Arcas comes is the same as the root of the word Arctos, a bear; and hence the story went that Callisto rousing the anger of Artemis was turned into a Bear. The Constellation now known as Arctus and Arcturus received its name from the root which meant to shine; but for the same reason which changed Callisto into a bear, the notion rose that these stars also were inhabited by bears, and thus came the names of the Great and Little Bear. The root *ark* in Hindoo entered into the word *Rishi*, which means a wise man, and hence the seven *arkshas* or shiners, were changed into the abode of the seven *Rishis* or Sages. So again the word *Star* means a *strewer* of Light, and is the same as the Hindu word *idrā*; but this word was confused with another like it, which meant a wagon, ox, and hence the constellation came to be also called Charles's wain or wagon."

Gladstone sees the vestiges of a system of brute worship identical with that of Egypt.—(*Homer and the Homeric Age*, ii. 412.)

The Phœnicians employed the symbol of a Cow for Venus, whence the Cadmæans are said to have been conducted to the place of their settlement in Bœotia, by a Cow which pointed out the spot for building the Cadmeion or Citadel of Thebes, by lying down to rest upon it. This cow was probably no other than the symbolical image of their deity which was borne before them till fixed in the place chosen for their residence to which it gave the name of Thebes, which in the Syrian language signifies a Cow. * * * The Cow is still revered as a sacred symbol of the deity by the inhabitants of the Gold Coast of Africa, and more particularly by the *Hindoos*, among whom there is scarcely a temple without the image of one. * * It is also frequently found upon ancient Greek coins, though we do not find that any public worship was ever paid to it by that people: but it appears to have been held sacred by all the African tribes adjoining Egypt as far as the Tritonian Lake. (Payne Knight's Inquiry, etc. p. 40.)

The object of Comparative Mythologists is to divest their tales of absurdity, and to find a rational explanation of their growth. When however they retain as sensible the belief that stars were ever inhabited by bears, they stop short in their work, and refrain from applying their principles. It was perfectly natural to believe superior beings, or the souls of deified heroes inhabited the celestial bodies: but that belief could hardly have been extended to the brute creation. Various animals and birds are made to *attend* the celestial deities, but not to reign and exist independently. The horses yoked to the car of Helios, and the comparison of the fleecy clouds to Cows, are as absurd and unpoetical as any figure of speech which called the Stars by the names of animals. The twelve labours of Hercules, like the twelve signs of the Zodiac, signify the twelve months of the year. A selection of incidents and emblems was necessary to make up and limit the number to twelve. Neither one nor the other have any proper reference to the seasons, or to astronomy. What especial reference has the Ram to March, the Bull to April, and the Lion to July? Their places interchanged would be just as appropriate. The emblems in both instances were probably identified with well-known and long-celebrated events: in the course of time these latter becoming numerous, like the increasing number of saints in the middle ages, a selection was necessarily made; the number was fixed at twelve, and long established usage at length obscuring their original purpose and meaning, new interpretations were made, a new symbolism was promulgated, and hence arose the mythical labours of Hercules, and the mysterious signs of the Zodiac.

The incarnations of Vishnu belong to the same category. He is said in the Hindoo Mythology to have assumed the shape of a lion, a dragon, an ape, a boar, etc. These miraculous transformations could not have suddenly become the belief of the Hindoos. Successive metamorphoses, from a literal to a figurative meaning, and back again from a figurative to a literal meaning of another kind, are the modes in which arise a belief in the

absurd and miraculous, without wilful deception on the one side, or blind credulity on the other. Long prescription, and authoritative sanction consecrate the absurdest tales in the minds of those even who would judge of an alleged contemporary miracle by the rules of reason and common sense.

What was the rational origin then of these Incarnations of Vishnu? Doubtless this: various peoples worshipped the Sun in the similitude of their national standard or emblem: these peoples became incorporated into one kingdom: in time one solar deity being worshipped under different symbols required explanation: popular knowledge on the subject affording none, an explanation of a marvellous character was offered, and readily accepted. In some cases this union of the symbols of one worship produced monsters, who in course of time were looked on as representations of realities. In others we have a trinity formed: and we have Brahma riding on a Lion or a Goose, Indra or Siva on a Bull and an Elephant, and Vishnu on an Eagle. When therefore in mythology we find Zeus in the form of a Bull carrying off Europa, it is unsatisfactory to be told "This means that the strong rising sun carries off the wide-shining dawn."

But to demonstrate this, and to show that some other meaning is involved in this legend and others of a similar character, it will be necessary to exemplify the figurative language of the ancients, and to consider the symbolism supposed to be intended by figures and representations, found in poets and other writers, and exhibited in remains of ancient art.

It was the constant custom amongst the ancients in Oracular Responses to use enigmatical and allegorical language. Thus Adrastus was commanded to give his two daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Boar, meaning to two princes who bore those emblems. The person who killed Lysander bore a dragon on his shield; wherefore the oracle had told him to beware of a dragon. Diocletian in the camp at Liege was told he was to become emperor, when he had slain a boar. He rested not till

he had succeeded in doing away with his rival Arrius *Aper*. In the Bible countries are often mentioned metaphorically, as when Daniel signifies Greece and Persia by their respective emblems, the goat and the ram.*

This figurative language was especially used in reference to the serpent and the dragon. A country infested with serpents often meant devoted to the serpent worship. When St. Patrick is said to have extirpated the serpents of Ireland nothing more is meant than that he supplanted the idolatrous adoration of the Sun and the Serpent by Christianity.

Most of the legends of the Saints who evangelized Brittany describe them as either having destroyed a great dragon, or a colony of serpents, which had infested the country before their arrival. St. Cado, St. Maudet, and a St. Paul, are all entitled to this honour. St. Cado was the victor over the serpents of Carnac.† All these

* These symbolical expressions have been continued in more modern times, and down to the present day. We speak of the Wars of the Roses in the 15th century, and of the lions of England, and the lilies or eagles of France. The history of Poland mentions the contests of the roses and griffins in the 12th century, *i. e.* of the parties who bore those ensigns. Godefroy de Paris, in relating the circumstances of a war between the French and Flemings, indicates the latter nation by the term Black Lion, and the former by the *Fleurs de Lis*. Dante in the *Divina Commedia* constantly describes persons by their armorial bearings. In *Quentin Durward*, Sir Walter Scott, who mentions William de la Marck as bearing a boar on his escutcheon, gives him the *soubriquet* of the "Wild Boar of Ardennes."

Urien Rheged was a British Chief who lived at the beginning of the 6th century. He is said to have borne a raven on his shield and his descendant Lord Dynevor bears 3 ravens for his arms. The ravens (*i. e.* his followers) of Owain son of Urien are alluded to by Bleddyn Vardd, a bard of the 13th century, and also by a bard of the 12th century.

Favine an old writer on Heraldry remarks that the French Historians speak of Philip Augustus "conquering the dragon" when he overcame Otho IV. who bore a dragon as the standard of his empire.

On a Dutch coin struck by William of Orange we see the lion of Batavia conquering the Spanish boar, evidently meaning the Duke of Alba, A.D. 1578.

† One of the titles of the Hindoo Apollo is *Carna the Radiant*: the word *Carnival* is connected with it.

legends alluded to the destruction of some Dracontium, which was the Great Dragon, and the conversion or suppression of the priesthood of Bel who were the Serpents. Hence the numerous churches and chapels dedicated to St. Michael, the divine destroyer of the spiritual serpent, and hence the appropriation of the most sacred hills of the Ophite Deity to the Christian archangel. Enormous dragons, covering many acres of territory, are mentioned by Iphicrates, Strabo, Maximus Tyrius and Posidonius, which says Bryant, could have been only ruins of Ophite Temples.*

The germ of the legend of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece† has been considered to be found in the fable of the Arimaspi and Griffins. The former, as Herodotus was told, were a Scythian people who waged a continual war with the Griffins who collected the gold of the country. These are imagined to have been the symbols of two contending parties. The Griffin was especially a fabulous animal of the Persians.‡

Mr. Jacob Bryant in his learned work on Mythology has the following instances in which metaphorical language conceals and yet explains facts:—

Cycnus, the brother of Phaeton, is said to have been changed to a Swan. In respect to Cycnus and his brotherhood, those vocal ministers of Apollo, the story which is told of them undoubtedly alludes to Canaan, the son of Ham, and to the Canaanites his posterity. They sent out many colonies, which colonies there is great reason to think settled in those places where these legends about swans particularly prevailed. The chief deity of the Canaanites

* Observations on Dracontia by Rev. J. B. Deane in *Archæologia* vol. 25.

† The Egyptians represented the Sun in a boat instead of a chariot, from which boat being carried in procession on men's shoulders as it often appears in their sculptures, and being ornamented with the symbols of Ammon taken from the ram, probably arose the fable of the Argonautic expedition, of which there is not a trace in the genuine parts of either of the Homeric poems. The Colchians indeed were supposed to be a colony of Egyptians, and it is possible that there might be so much truth in the story as that a party of Greek pirates carried off a golden figure of the symbol of their God.—Payne Knight, *Inquiry*, etc. p. 181.

‡ Pococke's *Early History of Greece*, p. 108.

was typified by a swan. As in early times, colonies went by the names of the Deities whom they worshipped, or by the name of the ensign or hieroglyphic under which their country was denoted, every depredation made by such people was placed to the account of the deity under such a device. Hence instead of saying that the Egyptians or Canaanites or Tyrians landed and carried off such and such persons, they said it was done by Jupiter in the shape of an eagle, a swan, or a bull. Plutarch says Apollo was pleased with the music of swans. Socrates terms swans his fellow-servants, in doing which he alluded to the ancient priests styled Cycni. Porphyry assures us Socrates was very serious when he mentioned swans as his fellow-servants. When therefore Aristophanes speaks of the Delian and Pythian swans, they are the priests of those places to whom he alludes. Lycophron who was of Egypt and skilled in ancient terms, styles Calchas who was the priest of Apollo a swan. Hence at the first institution of the rites of Apollo, which is termed the birth of the deity at Delos, it is said that many swans came from the coast of Asia, and went round the island for the space of seven days. The whole of this relates to a choir of priests who came over to settle at Delos and to serve in the newly erected temple. The dirges sung by these priests gave rise to the fable of the swan singing at his death. (Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*, ii. 67-78.)

Apollonius mentions a particular breed of serpents on the Euphrates which were harmless to the natives, but fatal to every one else. This I think cannot be understood literally. These serpents were of the same nature as the birds of Diomedes, and the dogs in the temple of Vulcan, and these histories relate to Ophite priests, who used to spare their own people and sacrifice strangers, a custom which prevailed at one time in most parts of the world. (Ibid, ii. 213.)

The story of the Harpies relates to the priests of the Sun. They were denominated from their seat of residence, which was an oracular temple, called Harpi and Hirpi, analogous to Orphi and Urphi in other places. The ancient name of a priest was Cahen. Hence the Harpies who were the priests of Ur are styled by Apollonius the Dogs of Jove. This term in the common acceptation is not applicable to the Harpies, either as birds, for so they are represented, or as winged animals. But this representation was only the insignia of the people as the vulture and the eagle, were of the Egyptians, and a lion of the Persians. The Harpies were certainly a college of priests in Bithynia, and on that account called Cahen. They seem to have been a set of rapacious persons who for their repeated acts of violence and cruelty were driven out of the country. (Ibid, p. 307.)

After these and similar illustrations of the actual use of metaphorical language, where the meaning is obvious and does not require further explanation, I would ask whether the same interpretation is not applicable to many mythological legends that it is thought are only to be

understood by a reference to the Sun and the dawn. As before remarked, this latter explanation, even where feasible, excludes all embodiment in these tales of real events. It is quite improbable that the narratives of deeds of great importance should have been so entirely supplanted by pure fictions and abstractions. Even the *Iliad* must have commemorated *some* real event, for the love of hearing the recital of actual heroic deeds could not have been satisfied with a poem that did not respond to this want.

We may therefore justly suspect some historical basis in many of the tales wherein animals and birds so prominently figure. When we read that Jupiter in the shape of a crow ruined his sister Juno ; that he corrupted Leda the wife of Tyndarus King of Laconia in the similitude of a swan ;—that he transported Ganymede in the form of an eagle, and offered violence to Astoria, the daughter of Cœus, in the same shape, and in the likeness of a white bull stole away Europa, the daughter of Agenor King of Phœnicia,—analogy will justify the belief that persons and not things are here indicated. And so when we read that Romulus was suckled by a wolf, Paris and Atalanta by a bear ; that bees fed Jupiter with honey, that a goat gave him milk, and that he was nourished according to different writers by doves, by an eagle, and by a bear, this use of metaphorical language may fairly bear the construction that all these persons, or those they represent, were brought up and educated by princes or chieftains whose ensign was the particular animal in question.

This application of Heraldry may indeed be tentatively made to the whole circle of mythology, in those parts where there is mention made of symbolical animals or birds. Thus the contests of Heracles with the Nemean lion, the Eurymanthean boar, and the Hydra, may mean something more than solar myths. The crow, the hawk, the wolf, the swan, and the cock, sacred to Apollo, are probably the emblems of different nations by which he was worshipped. Griffins are said also to be monsters peculiar to his service. In Homer, Apollo is termed Smin-

theus, from having freed a colony of Cretans from a plague of mice which in the old Cretan language are called *Sminthoi*. On an ancient gem is found a lion and a mouse; and a mouse is also depicted on a helmet.* A mouse is found too on the coins of Argos.† Bacchus has been supposed to be identical with Nimrod, which name in Chaldee means a tiger. The chariot of Bacchus is drawn by tigers. Here heraldry and history seem to pervade mythology. The chariot of Juno was drawn by peacocks. The peacock was the favourite armorial emblem of the Rajpoot warriors; it is the bird sacred to their Mars (Kamara) as it was to Juno his mother in the west (*vide* p. 8).

The fabulous monsters of antiquity have to be accounted for in any attempt to explain Mythology. The question is whether they are creations of the poet or otherwise. We have seen that fabulous, absurd, and miraculous *actions*, can be resolved into simple and natural elements, and the same process might be expected to result in the successful analysis of the origin of the conception of unreal animals. As gleaned from writers on the subject it is the general opinion that these monsters were *invented* to typify a combination of qualities. Undoubtedly, some exaggerated forms were expressly invented in order to be typical, as the many-handed India deities, the Hydra, Briareus, and the many-breasted Diana of the Ephesians.‡ But the greater part were

* Smith's Dict. of Mythology.

† Payne Knight, p. 100.

‡ The Hindoos, and other nations of the eastern parts of Asia, expressed combinations of attributes by symbols loosely connected, and figures unskilfully composed of many heads, legs, arms, etc., which appear from the epithets hundred-headed, hundred-handed, etc., so frequent in the old Greek poets, to have been not wholly unknown to them, though the objects to which they applied prove that their ideas were taken from figures which they did not understand, and which they therefore exaggerated into fabulous monsters, the enemies or arbitrators of their own Gods. Such symbolical figures may perhaps have been worshipped in the western parts of Asia, when the Greeks first settled there, of which the Diana of Ephesus appears to have been a remain, for both her temple and that of the Apollo Didynæus were long anterior to the Ionic migration.—Payne Knight's *Inquiry*, etc., p. 157.

formed naturally, and from a combination with any of the original intentions of the time any new ideas or combinations of ideas: for these were far from being the case in those ages. Two remarkable instances in Heraldry, however, will well illustrate the manner in which the Union Jack is a combination of the crosses of St. Andrew, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, and the natural and convenient arrangement of the elements of three kingdoms. It is not, however, in any absurd combination of elements, but in a happy combination of elements, which happen to be susceptible of it. For the English Edmund Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry the third, was more in point.* This heraldic combination of the lions of England separately, united in one shield with *one head*. This, of course, was simply a heraldic fancy; but in ancient times it was not without something more; and it is conjectured, have some idea of that, its origin being forgotten, and its meaning not have been eventually believed in as a reality, and it was endowed with emblematical qualities, as a symbol.

The Chimæra of Mythology was a creature composed of a lion, his tail ending with a serpent's head, and a goat's head issuing from his back. As Heraldry is a

* A lion the head in mane and tail
Behind a dragon in the midst of a lion.

This would be only a natural combination, and similarity of union of three kingdoms whose emblems were respectively a lion, a goat, and a serpent. But though this Chimæra, mounted on his winged horse, Pegasus,

* This is figured in Baines' *History of Lancashire*, p. 212. The heraldic puzzle a *leopard's face jeuant de lion*, which is a combination of so many conjectural explanations, is nothing more than the combination in one figure of the separate charges of a leopard's head and a fleur de lis.

† Lycia in Asia Minor is the scene of this emblem. In Sir C. Fellows' *Travels in Asia Minor and Lycia* the following passage occurs (p. 317): "The bull's horns are found as the emblem of the ancient inhabitants, and the bull contending with a lion is the common subject of bas-reliefs. * * The lion is seen every where."

May not this have typified the conquest of a threefold kingdom, by a nation whose emblem was a horse, or perhaps to account for the wings, whose united ensigns were the horse and eagle? But this story is regarded as a pure solar myth, notwithstanding the victim in the contest is not the simple serpent of night over which the Sun is always victorious.

Mr. Payne Knight in his learned work before quoted*—a storehouse of facts illustrating the Heraldry of Mythology—remarks (p. 113) “on the celebrated ark or box of Cypsolus, Diana was represented winged, and holding a lion in one hand and a leopard in the other; and in an ancient temple near the mouth of the Alpheus, she was represented riding upon a gryphon, an emblematical monster, composed of the united forms of the lion and eagle, *the symbols of destruction and dominion.*” These words in italics afford a specimen of the interpretation Mr. Knight throughout his work puts on the symbols found on coins and temples. He attributes to them a moral import—never an heraldic one. But in one place (p. 49) he observes that the knowledge of the ancient hieroglyphics, and consequently of the symbolical meaning of the sacred animals, perished with their hierarchy under the Persian and Macedonian Kings. And it is to be inferred from this, that in ignorance of their historical or heraldic origin and meaning, these symbols received one that was fanciful and allegorical. There were of course emblems devised that never were any thing but morally typical. One of these, a well known one, Mr. Knight mentions (p. 136) where the celestial soul was represented by a butterfly, and he adds

throughout the valley of the Xanthus; every bas-relief, tomb, seal (?) or coin shows the figure or limbs of this animal. Lions still live in its mountains, the goat is found at the top, while the serpent infests the base of the Erasus, illustrating the imaginary monster of its early fables.” But these geographical peculiarities have nothing to do, except in the very earliest times, with the use of emblems. The author does not say if the figure of the chimæra is to be found in the country.

* *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*; 1818.

“there is no trace of this on coins though it constantly occurs on gems.”

But I proceed to give instances where these symbolical figures evidently mean *conquest*, and the animal represented typifies the country conquered.

A goat with one horn was the old symbol of Macedon.* B.C. 547, the Macedonians became tributary to the Persians. On one of the pilasters of a temple at Persepolis, a Goat is represented with an immense horn, and a man with a Persian dress is seen by his side, holding the horn with his left hand. To “take a bull by the horns” is an equivalent phrase for to conquer. There occurs on the reverse of a coin of Archelaus, King of Macedon, the head of a goat bearing only one horn. Persia was represented by a ram. Ammianus Marcellanus acquaints us that the King of Persia, when at the head of his army, wore a ram’s head made of gold instead of a diadem.† In the 8th chapter of Daniel we have a remarkable instance of the metaphorical way of speaking of kings and nations. These emblems of Persia and Macedon are there expressly mentioned.

At Persepolis there is the figure of the king killing a monster having lion’s paws, a neck scaly as of a dragon, with a scorpion’s tail, and a horn issuing from his head which the King lays hold of with his left hand, and with his right plunges a dagger into his body. This could not clearly be intended to represent an incident of the chase. Persian gems abound with monstrous forms.

* Bishop Newton observes that 200 years before the time of Daniel, the Macedonians were called *Ægeadæ*, the goat’s people, the origin of which name is said to be as follows:—Caranus, their first King going with a multitude of Greeks, to seek a new habitation in Macedonia, was advised by an oracle, to take the goats for his guides, and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire, and made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the place *Æge* or *Ægea*, the goat’s town, and the people *Ægeadæ*, the goat’s people, so name from *Aigos* a goat. The city *Æge* or *Ægea*, was the usual burying place of the Macedonian kings, and in reference to this origin, Alexander called his son by *Roxana*, *Alexander Ægus*, Alexander the Goat.

† “Medals of Macedonia” in *Archæologia*, vol. 14.

The King is exhibited in conflict with a vast variety of monsters, for instance winged lions with two tails, and with the horns of a ram or antelope. Sphinxes and Griffins of different shapes appear on Persian gems and cylinders. On some bas-reliefs at Persepolis the King is represented killing a lion or a bull; on others a lion is devouring a bull: and griffin's heads and bull's heads are found carved on the capitals of the Temples.*

Mr. Layard in his first work on Nineveh remarks (ii. 441):—

“There is still at Persepolis sufficient to prove that the religious symbols of the Persians were adopted from the Assyrians. * * According to the best authorities Zoroaster was a Chaldean, who introduced his doctrines into Persia and Central Asia. When Persia was a mere province, and long before the name is found among the civilized nations of antiquity, the religious system of the Assyrians was not only perfected, but was falling into decay. The Assyrian empire had ceased to exist before its myths and symbols were transferred with its arts to the walls of Persepolis.”

And further, Mr. Layard states that “the eagle-headed human figure is generally seen contending with other mythical animals, such as the human-headed lion or bull; and in these contests it appears to be always the conqueror;” but he holds the same view as Payne Knight, of the typical character of these representations, and suggests that they “may denote the superiority of the intellect over mere physical strength.”† If however we find a composite symbol, whose meaning is clearly historical or heraldic, other cotemporary symbols of the same class may fairly receive the same interpretation. “In the Florentine Collection there is a gem (engraved in Plate 42 of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible) which represents a ram's head and goat's head with one horn, *conjoined*, representing Persia and Macedon, which would be explained on the supposition of the gem having been engraved after the conquest of Persia by Alex-

* Rawlinson's *Five Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iv.

† Mr. Layard mentions that *Nisr* in all Semitic languages means Eagle, and is the etymon of Nisroch the name of an Assyrian God. Nisroch was probably a deified king whose emblem was an eagle.

ander the Great." In face of an obvious meaning, it is in vain here to seek an allegorical one. This is an instance quite parallel to *impulement* in Heraldry.

Mr. Layard in his work *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon*, (p. 154) mentioning the discovery in the palace of Kouyunjik of impressions of seals on clay, remarks—

The Assyrian devices are of various kinds; the most common is that of a king plunging a dagger into the body of a rampant lion.* This appears to have been the royal and indeed the national seal or signet. The same group emblematic of the superior power and wisdom of the King, as well as of his sacred character, is found on Assyrian cylinders, gems, and monuments. From the Assyrians it was adopted by the Persians, and appears upon the walls of Persepolis and on the coins of Darius.

And at p. 595, is given an engraving of "a figure in relief on a circular vessel of the *Assyrian Hercules struggling with a lion*." At p. 605, is represented "the Assyrian Hercules contending with a Buffalo, and a horned human figure, with the extremities of a bull fighting with a lion," engraved on cylinders. And we are told (p. 608) "gems and precious stones of the Arsacian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, engraved with subjects and mythical figures, precisely similar to those on Assyrian and Babylonian relics, are by no means uncommon."

These and such like figures then have a mythological meaning, and as like the subjects represented equally on

* In the *Herald and Genealogist* for October, 1867, in a Paper on "The Use of Antique Gems as Mediæval Seals" I have shown how this device was used by Sir Hugh Nevill, who went to the Holy Land in 1190, which gave rise to a story of his having thrust his sword into the body of a lion, and subsequently to the use of a lion rampant by his family for an armorial bearing.

Mr. Stuart in his work on the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* states that "lions occur at St. Andrews and Drainie. In both cases a man in a plaided dress is forcing open their jaws, and these" he adds "may represent David slaying the lion." The juxtaposition of the man and lion is variously represented in Persian and Assyrian sculptures, sometimes holding the animal by the paw,—in all cases evidently intending to convey the idea of subjection. Mr. Keane in his work on the Towers of Ireland gives engravings of ancient sculptures where a man puts his hand in the jaws of a wolf.

the vases of Etruria and Greece, are found in different countries, may be supposed to have had a remote antiquity in some common source. The question as affecting our argument, is whether their meaning is allegorical, according to Payne Knight and others, or as I have endeavoured to show, heraldic and symbolical of and representing historical events.* In some preceding instances they are unquestionably of the latter character. The whole history of painting and sculpture from the earliest times reveals the object and purpose of conveying information, and celebrating events by pictorial display. What the frescoes on the walls of mediæval churches were to the unlettered multitude, these Assyrian and other designs were to the same ignorant masses, in the remote ages when Nineveh was in its glory, and the Pyramids were even ancient structures. Incidents in the lives of Saints, real or miraculous, and events recorded in Scripture history, were the subjects treated by Christian art. No mystical allegories, no esoteric symbolism, were there portrayed. Nor, may we rest assured, were the earliest paintings on the walls of Temples or Palaces any but of matter of fact and historical subjects, such as decorate the walls of our Houses of Parliament. It is conceivable that for the sake of condensed expression, and multifarious and frequent use, an event, as a battle,

* The bull, the wild goat, and the griffin are the animals, evidently of a sacred character, which occur so frequently in the sculptures of Nimroud. The lion or leopard devouring the bull and gazelle, is a well known symbol of Assyrian origin, afterwards adopted by other Eastern nations, and may typify, according to the fancy of the reader, either the subjection of a primitive race by the Assyrian tribes, or an astronomical phenomenon.—*Layard's Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon* (p. 184.)

Sometimes the lion is represented as killing some other symbolical animal, as the bull, the horse, or the deer; and these compositions not only occur upon the coins and other sacred monuments of the Greeks and Phœnicians, but upon those of the Persians and the Tartar tribes of Upper Asia, in all which they express different modifications of the ancient mystic dogma concerning the adverse effects of the two great attributes of creation and destruction. * * On some of the ancient Greek coins of Acanthus in Macedonia we find a lion killing a boar.—Payne Knight, *Enquiry*, etc. pp. 83 and 94.

would take the simple and concentrated form of the figures we have been considering; and they would have an analogous force and meaning to the arms used by Edward the third, when he quartered the lilies of France with the lions of England. In the lapse of ages the original meaning of these figures was forgotten, and new ones chiefly allegorical were devised to explain them.

The combination of the human with animal forms in these mythological figures is remarkable. It would appear to have resulted from the practice of the deification of great men;* or perhaps was introduced at the period when the monsters of mythology had, after long serving an heraldic, or simply an emblematical purpose, become objects of adoration; and by way of homage to a more enlightened worship, the human face divine was substituted as a more dignified frontispiece in an animal figure that was an object of idolatry.†

Payne Knight says (p. 123.)

"A fish was the universal symbol on many of the earliest coins, and almost every symbol of the male or active power both of generation and destruction, being occasionally placed upon it. Dirceto the goddess of the Phenicians was represented by the head and body of a woman, terminating below in a fish."

Here we have the fabulous *Mermaid*: the *Merman* was the Babylonian *Dagon* or *Fishgod*.‡ An instructive note

* The devices on coins were always held so strictly sacred that the most powerful monarchs never ventured to put their portraits upon them until the practice of deifying sovereigns had enrolled them amongst the gods.—Payne Knight, *Inquiry*, etc. p. 8.

† As men improved in the practice of the imitative arts they gradually changed the animal for the human form, preserving still the characteristic features which marked its symbolical meaning. * * Thus we find on an ancient Egyptian temple, the horns and ears of the Cow bound to the beautiful features of a woman in the prime of life.—Ibid, p. 40.

‡ The following is from Mr. Layard's work on "Nineveh and Babylon" (p. 343.):—

At Kouyunjik were found two colossal bas-reliefs of *Dagon* or the *Fish God*. * * * It combined the human shape with that of the fish. * * * The figure wore a fringed tunic, and bore the two sacred emblems, the basket and the cone.

We can scarcely hesitate to identify this mythic form with the

on the latter is subjoined; but we do not learn how the element common to both should have been incorporated in two deities of the opposite sex.

We find a couchant lion on a medal with a blazing sun above his head (which was the ancient ensign of the Tartars); on another we find a naked man astride the lion, so that the sun from the crowded space appears immediately above the man's head. This accidental circumstance was probably the origin of the *Nimbus*, which though considered an attribute of Christian and Jewish symbolism was in use among the Heathens, but was early adopted by the Christians, though it did not become general till the 5th century.*

Oannes or sacred man-fish, who according to the traditions preserved by Berosus, issued from the Erythraean Sea, instructed the Chaldeans in all wisdom, in the sciences, and in the fine arts, and was afterwards worshipped as a god in the temples of Babylonia. Its body, says the historian, was that of a fish, *but under the head of a fish was that of a man*, and to its tail were joined women's feet. Five such monsters rose from the Persian Gulf at fabulous intervals of time. It has been conjectured that this myth denotes the conquest of Chaldea at some remote and pre-historic period, by a comparatively civilized nation coming in ships to the mouth of the Euphrates. I had already identified with the Babylonian idol a figure in a bas-relief at Khorsabad, having the human form to the waist and the extremities of a fish. Such figures are also frequently found on antique cylinders and gems, but those at Kouyunjik agreed even more minutely with the description of Berosus, for the human head was actually beneath that of the fish, whilst the human feet were added to the spreading tail.

The Dagon of the Philistines and of the inhabitants of the Phœnician coast, was worshipped according to the united opinion of the Hebrew commentators on the Bible, under the same form. * * His worship appears to have extended over Syria as well as Mesopotamia and Chaldæa. He had many temples as we learn from the Bible, in the country of the Philistines, and it was probably under the ruins of one of them that Samson buried the people of Gaza, who had "gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their God, and to rejoice." We also find a Beth-Dagon or the house of Dagon, amongst the uttermost cities of the children of Judah, and another city of the same name in the inheritance of the children of Asher.

* The following observations on the Nimbus are from the *Journal of the Archaeological Association* (i. 121):—There seems to be no doubt that this method of representing excellence of power is derived from classical antiquity. M. Didron has cited instances where

Another apparent instance of the accidental or perhaps necessary position of an emblem in a mythological composition is given by Payne Knight (p. 39) to account

the deities, as well as personifications of moral virtues, and even the Emperors, are distinguished by the head being encircled with the Nimbus. He is of opinion that it originated among the fire worshippers of the East, and that in reality it represents fire or flame, emblematical of the divine power and intelligence, emanating from the head. In Persia and other Eastern countries at the present day, the heads of sacred persons are surmounted or surrounded by a mass of flame rising up into the air like a pyramid. * * In the earliest Christian monuments, the Nimbus is not found even when the Deity is represented. The sarcophagi and frescoes in the Catacombs of Rome represent the Father and the Son, either with no Nimbus, or with the plain Nimbus which at a later period was the attribute of saints and angels. Even as late as the 12th century, we sometimes find the divine person represented with the plain Nimbus. * * The Nimbus as the emblem of power or excellence is not confined to the divine persons or to the saints. The personages of the Old Testament are sometimes distinguished in the same manner. In some of the early paintings in churches in France, the prophets, some of the Jewish Kings, Abel, Melchisedec, Jacob, etc. are represented with the same attribute. * * Allegorical figures also, such as the cardinal virtues, the wind, the elements, day and night, etc. are not unfrequently accompanied with the Nimbus in Christian monuments. In the East the Nimbus was used still more widely than in the west; it was there often applied to mark power, whether good or evil.

There are representations in the Hindoo temples of a fish swallowing a man, which perhaps had the same parentage as the various forms of the Babylonian and Assyrian Dagon or Fish-God, and the Oannes or sacred man-fish traditionally venerated by the Chaldeans. Whether the history of Jonah devoured by the whale is the origin of these mythical devices there are no means of determining.

The *Pictorial Bible* commenting on the passage in Daniel (vi. 16) which gives the account of the prophet being thrown into the lions' den has these remarks: "This is a new punishment, not previously mentioned in Scripture, and it first occurs at Babylon, *but no ancient writer mentions such a punishment at Babylon.* Monuments have been brought to light by modern travellers on the sites not only of Babylon, but of Susa, representing lions destroying and preying upon human beings." One of these is figured from an engraved gem dug from the ruins of Babylon by Capt. Miguan. It exhibits a man standing upon two sphinxes, and *holding by the fore paws two rampant lions.* But this is very different from the description given of it as quoted. In Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon" (p. 595) is an engraving of the figures on a circular vessel, the subject being "the Assyrian Hercules struggling with the Lion." At page 605 is an engraving from a Babylonian cylinder of a Man holding the

for the fable of the world being supported on the back of a tortoise, though his symbolical explanations of its meaning, if true, must like many other such explana-

paws of a horned animal, standing upright, and of a human-headed Bull "struggling with" or holding a rampant lion by the fore paw.

The emblems of the Evangelists St. Luke and St. Mark—the winged bull and the winged lion—may have been taken from the Assyrian sculptures: the instances being numerous of the appropriation of Heathen symbols by the early Christians. (See note to p. 37.)

The following from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 20, 1869 exemplifies the growth of a mythical tale founded apparently on a figured representation:—

"According to an old tradition of the village of Biddenden, in the middle of Kent, the Siamese twins are not the only known example of such a union. The tradition is, we are informed by a correspondent, that early in the twelfth century there lived in that parish two sisters, Eliza and Mary Chalkhurst, who from their birth were joined together by a double ligature, at the shoulders and at the hips. 'The Biddenden Maids,' it is said, were born in the year 1100, and lived in this "twin-ship" for just thirty-four years, when one of them was taken ill and in a short time died. The tradition is in about six hours afterwards the survivor was taken ill, and died also. The memory of these 'Maids of Biddenden,' no doubt, would have died out long ago if it had not been for the fact that by their will they bequeathed to the churchwardens of their native parish—so, at least, the story goes—certain parcels of land in Biddenden, containing about twenty acres, and now let at about forty guineas a year, and that every Easter Sunday, at the end of the afternoon service, there are given away to all persons who are present at the church some little rolls, or rather cakes, stamped with an impression of their portraits, while the poor parishioners are regaled with some 300 quartern loaves and cheese in proportion. The 'maids,' as represented on these cakes, are dressed in stiff robes, apparently of the Tudor times, stiff with buckram, and adorned round the neck with frills, and frilled caps on their heads. On their persons is stamped the legend, 'A(ged) 34 Y(ears) in 1100.' Hasted, in his 'History of Kent,' is inclined to reject the story of the Chalkhurst Maids as fabulous, and to think that the bequest was the gift of two maiden sisters of the name of Preston; he says that *the story of the maids grew out of the cakes*, and that the impressions on the cakes do not date farther back than fifty years before his own day, which would carry us back to about 1740; he remarks, too, that the silence of the early historians of Kent upon the subject outweighs the force of the local tradition."

The arms of the city of Oxford, an ox wading through water, doubtless was founded on the supposed etymology of the name.

tions be applicable in a derivative and not a primary sense :—

The tortoise is a frequent symbol of the double sex, or active and passive powers combined, though it might also have signified another, for like the serpent, it is extremely tenacious of life. It might however have meant immortality, and we accordingly find it placed under the feet of many deities, such as Apollo, Mercury and Venus, and also serving as a support to tripods, pateras, and other symbolical utensils employed in religious rites. Hence in the figurative language of the poets and theologians, it might have been probably called the support of the deity, a mode of expression which probably gave rise to the absurd fable of the world's being supported on the back of a tortoise, which is still current among the Chinese and Hindoos, and is to be traced even among the savages of North America.*

Sufficient examples have now I think been produced to establish two propositions :—

1. That the figurative or symbolical language of the Ancients applied to animals and birds, frequently if not generally, indicates deities of which they were emblems, or the heraldic insignia of persons and kingdoms.

2. That emblematical devices, animate or inanimate, the figures of monsters and of deities, occurring singly or in various combinations on coins and gems, vases and temples, had originally an heraldic significance; *subsequently* received allegorical and mystical meanings of other kinds; and gave birth to many of the fables of Mythology and other legendary tales.

If investigation verifies these propositions, it is obvious that Heraldry must prove a valuable adjunct in solving the problems of Mythology, and that Mythology in its turn is calculated to throw much light on Heraldry. Heraldry has one great advantage indeed over Philology in the elucidation of the obscurities not only of Mythology but of Ethnology,—its forms are definite, strongly marked, and susceptible of no variations that efface their

* The frog is found among the paintings of the Ancient Mexicans, and the Tortoise on their sculptured stones. A Tortoise occupies one of the compartments of Gauda's foot. It is the emblem of Munisuvrata the twentieth deified saint of the Jainas. (Capt. James Low on Buddha and the Phrabat—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4to. vol. 8 p. 111.)

identity or prevent their recognition. The crescent and the star, the beetle and the serpent as symbols, the various heraldic patterns which geometrical figures constitute, are identical in conformation wherever they are met with. This is not the case with language; words are like dissolving views and Protean in shape, ever shifting their guise, subject to perpetual transformations, as evanescent, as mutable, as inconstant as the clouds of the air or the waves of the sea.* This must ever cause the explanations of Etymology to be uncertain; one plausible derivation only holds good till a better and truer is discovered; and the truth or certainty of any etymological explanation must be tested by other incidents and circumstances than what language indicates.

Mr. Max Müller notwithstanding has certainly shown that Language explains the growth of many legendary tales,† and that these and many mythological

* Voltaire said Etymology was "une science où les voyelles ne font rien, et les consonnes fort peu de chose." The transmutations which words undergo are such that the real origin and meaning of a word must be often pure guess-work. Who would detect St. Olave in Tooley Street, St. Ethelred in St. Awdry, Trotterscliffe in Trosley? Who would not suppose that Elbœuf in Normandy had something to do with an ox, that bœuf here means by, an abode? Words with slight changes have opposite significations. Bleach to whiten is blanc in French, and not unlike the word black: Bec or Bach a stream easily becomes Peak Pic or Pike, the summit of a hill.

Mr. Fergusson ("Hist. of Architecture") considers architecture a better guide than language in tracing races. He observes "Looking on an ancient building we can not only tell in what state of civilization its builders lived, or how far they were advanced in the arts, but we can almost certainly say also to what race they belonged, and what their affinities were with other races or tribes of mankind. So far as my knowledge extends I don't know a single exception to this rule, and so far as I can judge, I believe that Architecture is in all instances as correct a test of race as language, and one far more easily applied and understood. Languages alter and become mixed, and when a change has been once established, it is extremely difficult to follow it back to its origin, and unravel the elements which compose it; but a building once erected stands unchanged to testify to the time when it was built, and the feelings and motives of its builders remain stamped indelibly upon it as long as it lasts."

† Professor Müller (Comparative Mythology, p. 42) gives a late instance of the growth of a myth. The Greek town of Cyrene in Libya was founded about Olympiad 37; the ruling race derived its

fables in their outlines or their germs can be proved to have had their origin or are to be found in the poem of the Veda. But although the Veda may be one of the oldest written compositions in the world, many of the monuments all over the globe which Archæology makes known, reach back to a period long anterior to the Sanskrit poem. If therefore it is found that legends and fables that can be traced to the Veda prevail in countries and amongst peoples of non-Aryan race, it is obvious that they have found their way there through the con-

origin from the Minyans, who reigned chiefly in Iolkos in Southern Thessaly; the foundation of the colony was due to the oracle of Apollo at Pytho. Hence the myth,—The heroic maid Kyrene who lived in Thessaly is loved by Apollo and carried off to Libya, while in modern language we should say, The town of Kyrene in Thessaly sent a colony to Libya under the auspices of Apollo.

He gives instances of how *Modern Mythology* has arisen. The story of the 11,000 virgins of Cologne seems to have arisen from the name of St. Undecemilla, a virgin martyr. The insertion of a single letter in the calendar has changed this name into the form "Undecem millia Virg. Mart." Mr. Taylor (*Words and Places*, p. 408) remarking "that the instinctive causativeness of the human mind, the perpetual endeavour to find a reason or a plausible explanation for everything has corrupted many of the words which we have in daily use" gives the following instances: Coat-cards has become Court-cards; Shuttle-cork, Shuttle-cock; quelque-chose, Kick-shaws, the inn signs God encompasseth us the Goat and Compasses, the Bacchanals the Bag of Nails; Beauchef, Beachy head; Leighton-beau-desert, Leighton Buzzard; Mart Lane, Mark Lane: St. Olave's street, Tooley Street; St. Peter's eye, Battersea; St. Awdry, Tawdry; Bellerophon, Billy Ruffian, etc.

In one of the City churches there is a memorial to Peter Heywood, a member of the ancient Lancashire family "of that ilk" which states that his great grandfather discovered or arrested Guy Fawkes. A careless reading of this inscription has given rise to the tale that *Guy Fawkes was buried there*, which the pew-opener relates to all inquirers.

At the time that Garibaldi took possession of Sicily and Naples the popular belief was that he was invulnerable, and that after every day's fight he shook his red shirt and the bullets fell out at his feet. As he was afterwards wounded in the foot, 1000 years hence, if myths are not entirely exploded by that time, he may be considered a solar hero, an Italian Achilles.

Amongst the stories believed for a time in recent periods are the alleged destruction of Naples by an earthquake, the disappearance of the falls of Niagara, the Sea Serpent, and the submersion of the island of Tortola.

quering or colonizing Aryans. They must therefore have displaced or transformed native legends and histories.* But we can scarcely conceive this process of extinction

* The Comparative theory, as worked out by Professor Müller, practically shuts out the acceptance of any historical element in the tale of the Trojan War. We say practically, because we know that it does not exclude it formally, and that both the writers of whom we speak would distinctly deny that it does exclude it. That the tale of Achilles represents the course of the Sun certainly does not formally forbid the notion that a real Achilles fought before Ilion. Now we are not at all concerned to argue that there was any real Achilles, or even any real Agamemnon. Our only point is that the Comparative system, so long as it deals chiefly with Greek matters, has a tendency to put out of sight the real historical value of the Homeric poems. We mean by this simply that these poems describe a real state of things somewhat idealized, so that, whether Agamemnon or Odysseus ever lived or not, we can still use the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as true pictures of early Greek manners. We mean also that certain real bits of history crop up here and there, as the early greatness of Mycenæ and the *Æneiad* dynasty in the Troad. We mean also that, as Mr. Keightley showed long ago, Homer is a most important historical witness negatively, by utterly excluding all tales about Cecrops coming from Egypt and Pelops from Asia. All this is perfectly consistent with the views of Professor Müller and Mr. Cox, and we believe that, whether they would accept or not this or that bit of detail, they would grant that the general position is quite consistent with their views. But it is not the less true that their views practically tend to obscure this way of looking at Homer. A survey of the Arthurian and Caroline cycles would help to correct this tendency. We there see how myths grow round a kernel of fact—how, though not history, they contain much historical matter. Bits of the real history of Charles crop up through the mythical history, and the mythical history sets before us, to a certain extent, the real manners, not of Charles's age but of a later age, and, to a much greater degree, the notions and aspirations of that later age, and the ideal of chivalry which it set up. The real and the mythical histories of Charles give us a sort of test by which we see how much truth is likely to be found in a myth which we cannot check by real history. And that amount of truth is really considerable. It at least preserves the fact that there was a time when one great Emperor reigned over many countries that were afterwards divided among many rulers. Here may well be a parallel to the empire of Agamemnon over "many islands and all Argos"—an empire which would have occurred to no one's imagination in the later divided state of Greece. Charles's Crusade is of course purely imaginary, but it is the reflection of the real Crusades, and it would alone be enough to show that real Crusades did take place. So the War of Troy may be imaginary, and yet it may be the reflection of

or transformation to have been so complete as it would seem, for it is unaccompanied by those circumstances of conquest and occupation which are the conditions precedent of its occurrence. The wide prevalence too of the worship of the serpent which figures so constantly in the Vedic poems confirms this view. But if we regard the Veda as the embodiment of feelings and sentiments entertained by the progenitors of all the then dominant peoples, where the myths that can be traced to it or are found in it prevailed, or among whose successors they have been discovered, then a world-wide Mythology whose main features are everywhere resembling is more satisfactorily accounted for and more rationally explained.*

the Greek settlements in Asia and of the wars which must have attended them. We should not be at all surprised if Professor Müller discovered that the mythical Charles or the mythical Arthur was really the Sun, and whether we believed them or not, we should fully admit there was in such belief nothing inconsistent with the real history. A solar myth may, as on the Comparative theory it did in the case of the Nibelungen Lied, take in real persons like Charles and, we do not hesitate to say, Arthur. That a person or a fact is worked into a solar myth proves nothing against the historical truth of that person or fact. To believe that the Iliad is a solar myth is in no way inconsistent with believing that the Iliad contains fragments of history, like the existence of a great kingdom at Mycenæ and the wars waged by the Greeks on the coast of Asia. The analogy of the Caroline legends leads us to expect to find thus much of truth in the Trojan legend.—*Saturday Review*, April 2, 1864.

* In the Veda divine names are given to Fire, the Wind, Storms, Rain, the Earth, Dew, etc. The Hymn to Indra invokes the Mountains, the Waters, and the Winds. Hence has arisen in Germany what is called the Meteorological theory as opposed to the Solar theory: this has been proposed by Professor Kuhn and obtained considerable assent.

Mr. Max Müller speaks of the writers of the Veda as men "standing on a level with our shepherds;" and Mr. Cox says that their feeling was that "the sun who rose to-day was a different being from the sun who yesterday died in the western waters; the calm twilight was his motionless repose after death; the night toiled with the birth of the coming day; the purple clouds of the morning were the cattle of the sun, whom the dawn sent forth to their pastures; the glittering dew was the bride whom unwittingly he slew in his fiery embrace." This is something like Thomson's "Seasons;" but the shepherd might be sought for in vain from the Grampians to the South Downs, whose conceptions would partake in the least of this

To conclude. This chapter many will probably think occupies a disproportionate length in a work on the "Antiquities of Heraldry." The Comparative Mythologist, if he acquiesces in its views and conclusions, may think it is much too short, and that a volume would be insufficient to discuss and amplify them. But whatever amount of space the subject should occupy, if my doctrines are pervaded by truth it is obvious that no work on the Antiquities of Heraldry could be complete without noticing the Heraldry of Mythology.

poetical vein. The shepherd's philosophy as described by Shakespeare (*As You Like It*, iii. 2) has no such imaginative flights: "I know the more one sickens, the worse at ease he is; and that he that wants money, means, and content, is without three good friends; that the property of rain is to wet and fire to burn; that good pasture makes fat sheep and that a great cause of the night is lack of the sun." The Veda mentions chariots, ships, armour, bridges, etc., which implies a certain stage of civilization and consequent intellectual culture. Mr. Müller infers also that because no words indicating the art of writing occur in the Veda, therefore it was unknown. But does the Veda or any other similar work mention or allude to *every* custom and practice then prevailing? Cæsar, a warrior, in his Commentaries, a book about his Gallic wars, is quite silent on the armour of the Gauls. This imagined simplicity and pastoral ignorance of the people who produced the Veda is opposed to analogies, and even to facts.

CHAPTER VI.

HERALDIC ORIGIN OF MANY FAMILY AND LOCAL NAMES.

A CURSORY examination of languages shows that names derived from the animal kingdom enter largely into the composition of personal and local nomenclature.* This

* *Sing* in Sanskrit means LION, and is the suffix in many Hindoo names, as Runjeet-Sing, etc. *Sang* in Gaelic means the same thing. Among the Romanized Britons, the lion gave rise to such names as *Llewellyn*, etc. The Greek and Roman names into which it enters are numerous: as *Leocrates*, *Leodamas*, *Leon*, *Leonatus*, *Leonidas*, *Leander*, etc. In the Teutonic language, we have *Leonard*, *Leopold*, *Leowulf*, *Leofric*, etc. In Denmark names derived from it are abundant, as *Lowenharz*, *Lowenstern*, etc. And this is accounted for, as the Anglo-Norman nobility of Danish descent principally bore lions in their arms. In Saxon England, names of persons or places into which the word lion enters are rare, if not entirely wanting, whilst those animals as the fox, deer, swan, goat, bear, wolf, etc., which are heraldic ensigns amongst the Germans, and which do *not* occur amongst those of the Anglo-Normans, enter plentifully into the local nomenclature of the Saxon settlements.

The Greek *ippos*, *ikkos*, HORSE, has given rise to a host of names, as *Hippolitus*, *Hippodamus*, *Hippomedon*, *Hipparchus*, etc. These names Miss Yonge (*Christian Names* ii. 498) says show "that riding was the glory of the Hellenes;" and she might have added of the Persians, the Romans, and most other peoples. A horse being found on the coins of Macedon, and therefore probably indicating the dominion of some prince who bore that ensign, is a far more likely cause for these names. The German *Rhos*, a horse, has given birth to the names *Rosamund*, *Robert*, *Ross*, *Rous*, *Russell*, etc.

Aper, a BOAR in Latin, is found in the names *Arrius Aper*, and perhaps *Appius*, *Apuleius*, *Apollo*, etc. The German name *Eber* has produced such names as *Eberhard* (Everard), *Eberwulf*, *Ebermund* (St. Evremund), *Ewart*, etc.

Lykos, a WOLF in Greek, and *Lupus* in Latin, have given rise to

fact has never hitherto (except in a few special cases) been explained by any cause connected with Heraldry. The obvious and superficial meaning of a name has been accepted as conclusive; a recondite meaning and one that does not appear on the surface, has rarely been sought after; curiosity has been satisfied by an explanation that necessarily extinguishes doubt and arrests further enquiry. Thus Maresfield and Horsefield as names of places at first sight explain themselves,* as do the sur-

countless names, as *Lycaon*, *Lycomedes*, *Lycophron*, *Lycurgus*, etc. The fable of Romulus and Remus being suckled by wolves, and the festival of Lupercalia, probably indicate the influence in early Roman History of some chief who bore a wolf as his heraldic emblem. The wolf occurs frequently amongst the cohort Ensigns mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*. The names in the Teutonic languages compounded of *ulf* are infinite. A St. Lupus succeeded St. Ursus in the see of Troyes in the fifth century. Guclph a Bavarian Count, who lived 820, was progenitor of the Dukes of Bavaria. The first Duke of Aquitaine, living 668, was surnamed *Loup*, as were two Dukes of Gascony of the same race.

From the German *ar* and the Scottish *erne*, for EAGLE, we get such names as *Arnwald* (Arnold), *Arnulf*, *Earnshill*, *Earnswick*, *Ernley*, etc.

The names Swan, Bear, Bull, Hart, Hound, Fox, Raven, Hawk, Lamb, Goat, etc., are found as surnames singly and in composition, and the local names derived from them are numerous.

In the names *Hasdrubal* and *Hannibal*, we detect the God *Baal* worshipped by the Phenicians. Hannibal as a Christian name is frequent in Cornwall, a remarkable vestige left behind them by that trading people.

* Mr. Taylor in his admirable work *Words and Places*, says (page 488), "Many names are derived from animals. We find that of the Ox in Oxley, and perhaps in Oxford, and that of the Cow in Cowley, and many other places * * Deer, or perhaps wild animals generally, are found at Deerhurst, Dereham, Dereworth and Derby." But if this were the origin of the names of these places, as remarked in the text, they ought to be more numerous, to be spread all over England. How is it that there are so few places named after the Horse? The fact is places—that is settlements by colonists—were named in former times, as now in Australia and America, after and by *persons*, and not from natural features or uses, except in a few instances. As in the days of the Psalmist, "they call their lands after their own names." The tribe of the Deiri probably gave name to places beginning with the syllable *Deer*, and the tribe probably got their name from a chief whose heraldic bearing might have been a stag or deer. Capua was founded by Capys, which in Etruscan is said to mean *hawk*. The Saxon invader Cissa gave his name to Chichester and Cissbury in

names of March and May, Spring and Winter, which according to the classification of the sources of names in which writers on the subject indulge, were derived from the Months and the Seasons. But when we find that these local names are rare when they ought to be numerous, and that September and Autumn are not found amongst Surnames, this more critical inquiry shows the unsoundness of the apparent etymology. On the other hand such names as Newton and Norton occur all over England, and the obvious meaning is here the true one; as it is in the common family names of Davies, Wright, etc.

We are not, however, concerned with the etymology of any names in which we cannot detect an etymon that stands for the name of some species of the animal kingdom, or of those objects that have likewise become in their representation heraldic symbols. But the preceding observations were necessary to prepare the way for the removal of the same erroneous notions prevalent with respect to the meaning and origin of family and local names in which we trace the name of some bird or animal. Thus Mr. Lower in his first work on "English

Sussex; Brixi to Brixton, Clappa to Clapham. A great number of similar instances are given in Mr. Taylor's work.

The city of Berlin derived its name from the Bear, which is the city's armorial bearing, as it is of the canton and city of Berne. Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg, who lived in the 12th century, perhaps imposed his heraldic ensign on the future capital of Prussia. Here we have apparently an heraldic origin of the name of the city and of its arms; and so we don't hear of any such etymology as that it took its name from bears abounding in the country. Not so however of many Greek and Asiatic cities whose devices have come down to us on coins. Clides bore a *key*, Cardia a *heart*, Melos a *melon*,—which devices are said to have been taken as *armes parlantes*; but if cities got their names in most cases from their founders, might not those founders have given their names to the infant city, and their canting arms too, on the same principle as Kent took the ensign of Horsa, and the United States of America the arms of Washington, 3 bars and 3 mullets in chief, which was the origin of the stars and stripes of their flag? Gulistan in Persia means the country of roses; but might not the name have arisen on similar heraldic grounds? The heraldic terms *Gules* red, *Sable* black, and *Azure* blue, are of oriental origin.

Surnames" (p. 11) says "To kill a wolf was to destroy a dangerous enemy, and to confer a benefit on society. Hence several Saxon proper names, ending in *ulf* and *wolf*, as Bidd-*ulph*, the Wolf-killer, Ethel-*wolf*, and many others." This *pro tanto* seems a satisfactory derivation; but how is it that the killers of the fox, badger, deer, hare, etc., are not equally or more numerous than the wolf-killers, as evidenced by names? But this like other superficial explanations succumbs on examination. It is like the explanation given of the reason of the horse being found on the coins of Macedon,—that the people of that country were fond of horses; of the meaning of the city of Lycopolis,—that it was a place where wolves abounded. When therefore this "short and easy method" of accounting for names will not bear scrutiny, as in most cases proving too much or not enough, a way is opened for an explanation of another and more satisfactory kind. Of this character is I conceive the Heraldic Origin of local and personal Names derived from the Animal Kingdom, which I shall now attempt to exemplify.

We have seen at pages 83 and 84 that figurative language was early employed to denote persons, peoples, and countries: that a person who bore on his shield a lion or a boar was called by the names of those animals; that Greece and Persia are spoken of by Daniel as the Goat and the Ram; that a country devoted to serpent-worship was said to be infested with serpents; that the priests of Apollo were called swans, because that bird was sacred to the god, and that an army of wolves or ravens meant the ensigns under which the army fought. And we have seen at page 29 that the heads of the Indian tribes are called Wolf, Fox, Turtle, etc., not because they have taken those names individually and personally, as typifying qualities they wished to indicate, but because they are the immemorial symbols of their respective tribes, and that whole tribes are called Eagles, Bears, etc. according to the device of their chief. And this custom it may be well conceived was the earliest fixed and hereditary personal nomenclature, and was confined

to the successive heads of clans and tribes, other personal names being mere epithets, nicknames, and names derived from employments, and varying with each generation. In the course of time these heraldic names would for other persons than the chiefs of clans be compounded with words of various signification; and it will be found that such constitute a large portion of existing family nomenclature in all languages.

According to the theory developed in Chapter V, animals that were adopted as warlike emblems by warrior chieftains became objects of worship, after having attained a sacred character from being exhibited in religious rites. The most renowned of these chieftains after death would be deified; and their worship would be identified with that of the warlike emblem, whether animate or inanimate, which was the symbol of their race and their victories. Thus the scimitar (not as the chief weapon of war but) as the ensign of a warrior-chieftain was worshipped by the Scythians, and the Saxons of the same race who are said to have been named from *Sæxe*, a dagger, probably got their designation from their chief who adopted the sword as his ensign.

Mythology, in accordance with this view, supplies many instances where the symbol or attribute of the deity bears the same name in some language as the deity itself. Thus Mr. Layard mentions that *Nisr*, in all Semitic languages, means Eagle, and is the etymon of Nisroch an Assyrian god. Nisroch was probably a deified king whose emblem was an eagle. Again, Bacchus has been supposed to be identical with Nimrod, which name in Chaldee means a Tiger: hence perhaps the reason of the chariot of Bacchus being drawn by tigers. Diodorus Siculus says that Semiramis in the Syrian dialect means a wild pigeon or Dove. Hence the story that her life was preserved by doves, and that she was changed into a dove after death. Thebes in the Syrian language signifies a Cow. The Cadmeans are said to have founded this city in Bœotia on the spot where the symbol of a Cow sacred to Venus was carried in a religious procession. A similar story is told of the founda-

tion of Macedon B.C. 814 by Caranus, which was the name says Hesychius used by the Cretans for a Goat. The city *Ægea* was named from *aigos* a goat, and was the usual burying place of the Macedonian Kings. Mr. Fergusson in his *History of Architecture* (i. 48) remarks that the Bull was worshipped in most countries of Turanian origin. If I might hazard a conjecture as at page 79 about the origin of serpent worship, I would start the hypothesis that in pre-historic time some distinguished chieftain who happened to bear a Bull for a device extended his conquests and the dominion of his race, till this device became an object of worship over all Asia, and gave name to widely-spread peoples and localities. The bull or ox was an object of idolatry in Egypt, in China, in Japan, in India, in Bactria, in Babylon and Assyria; and apparently passing over the rest of Europe,* in Scandinavia. At page 13 we have seen that the Thor of this latter country signified in their language as in the Chaldee a Bull; and that at Upsal, in the great Temple, this god was represented with the head of a bull on his breast; and on an ancient Phœnician coin was a figure with the words *Baal Thurz*. The Indian god Indra is seen in Hindoo temples seated on a Bull; and Mr. Taylor† states that the identity of the Scandinavian Thunor or Thor and Indra has been proved by Mannhardt by a laborious comparison of the Teutonic and Indian myths.

In the synonym of Thunor we see an attribute of Jupiter embodied; and his emblem the Eagle was placed according to Payne Knight (page 82) by the Scandinavians on the head of their god Thor, and the bull on his breast. "Thor's Hammer" probably had an heraldic origin. At Mylasa in Caria, Sir Charles Fellowes tells us‡ he saw carved on the keystone of an arched gateway a sacrificial axe of Jupiter; and that he had seen

* No Athenian coin bearing the device of a bull is known.

† *Words and Places*, p. 342, where is given a list of names of places founded by Scandinavian colonists in which the name of their God enters.

‡ *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 277.

this emblem on four different keystones of arches built into different walls in the town; and coins of the ancient city have the same emblem on them, and one represents Jupiter with the same axe in his hand. This so called "sacrificial-axe" was probably the heraldic symbol of some deified hero whose worship got merged in that of Jupiter; and in support of this notion, it is remarkable that the word God is always represented in the inscription on the Rosetta Stone, and often on many others, by a character resembling a particular kind of hatchet. Moreover, the arms of Norway as early as Edward III (according to a roll of that date) were a lion rampant *holding in his paws an axe*. This bearing is not uncommon in Irish heraldry.*

The Aryan race is said to be named after the Sanskrit word *arya*, which means an agriculturist. But if the Turanian race got its name from an heraldic origin, might not the Aryans have had a similar derivation?† The Sanskrit word *Arah* signifies the planet Mars, and is obviously identical with the Greek *Ares*, *Areos*, the name of the God Mars.‡ The month of March was named from him, and its zodiacal sign is Aries, the Ram. The Persians are admittedly of Aryan descent, and their ancient national ensign was a ram or a ram's head. In plate 80 of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, a Banner is represented bearing the figure of a Ram.§ These facts lend a plausible countenance to the heraldic origin of the name. It is no argument against it that we don't find the ram as a venerated ensign amongst all nations of Aryan descent; for neither is the bull found as such amongst all Turanian races, nor the sword amongst all

* The ancient arms of the Yorkshire family of Tyas, which is said to be a corruption of *Teutonicus*, were three hammers on a chief.

† Might not the Sanskrit word for Horse *Aswa*, have given rise to the word *Asia*? In like manner the Buddhists got their name originally from *Budh* a Serpent. Hindoostan evidently got its name from *Ind* (moon) [see page 9]; and probably Assyria and Syria from the *Surya* race, the Sun worshippers, whose emblem was the Eagle the form of which enters into the mythological figures of the Assyrians.

‡ Vans Kennedy, *Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 297.

§ The Aarii occur amongst the tribes of Germany mentioned by Tacitus.

Saxon peoples: other ensigns may have in many countries taken its place: the Roman people as we have seen changed theirs several times.

Most tribes took their names from their chiefs, and these from their ensigns.* Thus the Varahas, a powerful

* Dr. Livingstone in his *Missionary Travels* (pp. 13, 271, 285) has pointed here and there to some remote connexion in primæval ages between Egypt and South Central Africa. Thus the animal worship of the old Egyptians is traceable as far southward as the Bechuana Tribes. These tribes are also named after certain animals. The term *Bakalla* means "they of the monkey;" *Bakuena*, "they of the alligator;" *Bullapi*, "they of the fish," each tribe having a superstitious dread of the animal after which it is called. *A tribe never eats the animal which is its namesake.*

Mr. Tylor in his work *Early History of Mankind* (p. 280-1), observes: "Sir G. Grey says that the Australians, as far as he is acquainted with them, are divided into great clans, and use the clan-name as a sort of surname, beside the individual name. * * In America the custom of marrying out of the clan is frequent and well marked; more than twenty years ago Sir Geo. Grey called attention to the division of the Australians into families, each distinguished by the name of some animal or vegetable, which served as their crest [? arms] or kobong; the practice of reckoning clanship from the mother, and the prohibition of marriage within the clan, as all bearing a striking resemblance to similar usages found among the natives of North America. The Indian tribes are usually divided into clans, each distinguished by a *Totem* (Algonquin, *dodaim*, that is, town mark) which is commonly some animal, as a bear, wolf, deer, etc., and may be compared on the one hand to a crest [?] and on the other to a surname. The Totem appears to be held as proof of descent from a common ancestor, and therefore the prohibition from marriage of two persons of the same totem must act as a bar on the side the totem descends, which is generally if not always on the female side. Such a prohibition is often mentioned by writers on the North American Indians. Morgan's account of the Iroquois rules is particularly remarkable. The father and child can never be of the same clan, descent going in all cases by the female line. Each nation had eight tribes, in two sets of four each:—

- | | | | |
|----------|--------|---------|---------|
| 1. Wolf. | Bear. | Beaver. | Turtle. |
| 2. Deer. | Snipe. | Heron. | Hawk. |

A recent account from North West America describes the customs among the Indians of Nootka Sound. A whale therefore may not marry a whale, nor a frog a frog. A child again always takes the crest [?] of the mother, so that if the mother be a wolf, all her children will be wolves. As a rule also, descent is traced from the mother, and not from the father."

Indo-Scythic tribe, were denominated from *varaha* a boar, the device of their head. The names of some tribes, as the Catti, the Taurini, bear on the face of them the names of the animals after which they are called. The clan Chattan (probably an offshoot of the Catti) who gave their name to the county of Caithness, bore as their chief cognizance the wild mountain cat, and called their chieftain, the Earl of Sutherland, *Mohr an Chat*, the Great Wild Cat.* The Saxon invader of Kent, Horsa, bore the well known ensign of the Horse, in correspondence with his name. Though we don't read of a tribe bearing his name, it is probable that he was a member or chief of a tribe who bore a name in some language or dialect that signified a horse. A host of names of persons and places contain the root of *Gallus* a cock. This bird is the national emblem of Gaul, and also of Wales, which the French call *pays de Galles*. The cock is a badge of Wales, and Henry VIII bore it as such, *argent combed and wattled gules*, along with the Saxon red dragon. In the language of Circassia, the name for that country is said to be the same as that for a Cock, and this bird is their national device.† Arthgal the first Earl of Warwick is said to have been one of the Knights of the Round Table. *Arth* or *Narth* signifies a Bear. One of his descendants it is said slew a giant who encountered him with a tree torn up by the roots. Hence the cognizance of the Bear and Ragged Staff, which is as old at least as the 15th century, for in a MS. of that date the standard of Richard Earl of Warwick bore that de-

* *Heraldry in History, Poetry, and Romance*, by Ellen J. Millington, p. 325.

† Barrington's *Lectures on Heraldry* p. 103.

On a gem from Babylon is engraved a winged priest or deity standing before an altar surmounted by a cock. The Hebrew commentators conjecture that Nergal the idol of the men of Cuth, had the form of a cock (Layard's *Nineveh*, p. 538). In monuments of Grecian art the Cock is the most frequent symbol of Hermes, Mercury, or Anubis. He is also found sitting on a rock, with a Cock on his right side, the goat on his left, and the tortoise at his feet. The Ram is more commonly employed to accompany him. (Payne Knight, *Enquiry*, etc. p. 124.)

vice. The House of Orleans also bore this device, and likewise the Dukes of Burgundy.

The Dukes of Mecklenburg bear for their arms *a Bull's head*. This is thus accounted for by Court de Gebelin.* They are descended from the kings of the Ostrogoths, who derived their armorial bearings from the Polabes over whom they reigned, which name is composed of *Bola* or *Whola*, which signifies a Bull or Ox, and of *Hlaw* a Head.

The Saxons are said to have derived their name from *Seaxe*, a dagger or short sword, the ensign probably of their first chief.† The arms said to have been borne by Sebert, one of the kings of the East Saxons in England, are three Falchions. The Scythians, who are supposed to have been of the same race, worshipped their tutelary deity the God of War, under the symbol of an iron scimitar. A scimitar is annually worshipped by the chivalry of Mewar in Hindostan. A sword or dagger is a prevalent charge in Polish blazonry. Sicily is supposed to have been named after a root allied to *sica* a sickle; but may it not have got its name from a branch of the Saxons? Menestrier the French writer on Heraldry says that the Chains of Navarre, the armorial ensigns of that kingdom, are explained by the fact that in the Basque language *una Varra* means an iron grating or chains.‡ The arms of the kingdom of Castille are a Castle. All these are probably instances where inanimate objects selected as heraldic ensigns have furnished names, first to persons, and then to peoples over whom they reigned or kingdoms they founded.

We have seen in Chapter IV. (pages 44 and 48) instances where the ancient Romans bore devices corresponding with their names. In mediæval times numerous such examples are to be met with.§ The Swedish

* *Monde Primitif*, viii. 151.

† One may conceive that a land or a town might take its name from a powerful chief, and afterwards give it as an epithet to the people.—Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, i. 79.

‡ Were the Portcullis the Badge of Henry VIII. and the arms of the city of Westminster in any way derived from this source?

§ The seal of Lucy (p. 178) is an early instance. The bearing

family of Oxenstirn was named from their heraldic bearing a Bull's head. The Dauphin of France is said to have been so called from the Counts of Auvergne, of whom Guillaume VIII. bore according to the blazonry of the Crusaders A.D. 1147 *un dauphin pamé d'azur en champ d'or*. In the case of many ancient families who bear or bore arms allusive to their names, it is in most instances impossible to tell whether they took their names from their arms, or *vice versâ*. Charles Martel is said to have been so named from the heavy blows he dealt in the fight; but it is just as likely that he bore a hammer-like axe as an heraldic device, and hence got or inherited his name.*

of the family of De Arundel is another (p. 187). In the seals enumerated (pp. 188–201) numerous other cases are to be met with. In the Roll of Edward II. containing about 1100 coats, a considerable number are found; but it is remarkable that out of 220 coats in this Roll in which a lion is a charge, not one is borne allusive to the name. But canting arms are given to the families of Corbet, Faulconer, Heron, Cokfeld, Barlingham (Gules 3 bears argent—the only instance in the roll of a Bear) Swyneborne, Videlou (argent 3 wolves' heads argent) Wauncy (6 and 3 gauntlets) Trumpington, Septvans, Conyers, Rossell, Frenney, and Eschaes.

In some cases arms were borne that were originally allusive. Thus the coat of Sir William de Cosington, *azure three roses or*, is allusive to the name of the family from whom he was descended, viz. De Ros. Sir Rauf de Gorges bears *azure 6 mascles or*, whilst his ancestor of the same names in the Roll of Henry III. (1240–5) bore the canting coat of a whirlpool (*gorges*) blazoned as *Roeles argent and azure*. The latter was doubtless the original coat, and the former taken on marriage with some family who bore it. But a contrary case occurs in the family of De Clare, one of whom at an early period bore 3 Clarions, the arms of the head of the family being the well known Chevrons, and De Clare being a name taken by the family since the Conquest from their lordship of Clare in Suffolk.

* In the abovementioned Roll *Sable three hammers arg.* are ascribed to Sir Adam Martel.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE MODES OF TRANSMISSION OF HERALDIC
SYMBOLS FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES.

WE have endeavoured to show in preceding chapters how the multifarious objects which have become Heraldic symbols had their origin. It will be our purpose now, after considerably enlarging this field of inquiry and adding fresh illustrations and examples, to trace the descent of these symbols and their germs from the earliest historic times to the present day; to produce arguments in favour of the hereditary transmission of personal devices at all times, and to bring together the testimonies and facts which support that opinion.

When we survey the remains of antiquity that are impressed with the sacred symbols of Religion, or the insignia of Peoples and Clans, we are struck with the universal prevalence of some of these, and the partial occurrence of others; whilst through the lapse of ages they have all continued in use in some form more or less striking, and more or less extensive, and are now scarcely with any exceptions enshrined and perpetuated in existing European Heraldry.

The serpent as we have seen is met with as an object of worship, and symbolized in every part of the globe where archæological inquiries have been instituted. The same observation may be made of the Phallus, which gave rise to the infinite forms of the cross, that have formed so large an element in mediæval Heraldry. The emblems adopted by the early Buddhist priests have had

a singularly wide circulation ; they are found embodied in the heraldic insignia of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and at the same period, were in use by races in Europe that were then accounted barbarous or were unknown. But in examining the coins and other monuments of antiquity, we are struck with the almost entire absence amongst the Romans of insignia that prevailed elsewhere. Thus the horse is not found amongst the cohort devices of that people, whilst in Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa, it is constantly met with on their coins. The fleur de lis is with them also equally rare, as it is amongst the monuments of Nineveh ; whilst the star, the cinquefoil, and the crescent seem to have been frequent in use as symbols both on the banks of the Tiber and the Tigris. And it is remarkable that the Lion as an emblem is almost if not quite unknown amongst the insignia of the Romans ; and though it occurs abundantly in the symbolical representations of Persia and Assyria, it seems for centuries to have been held in estimation as an emblem by a people and in a country who have left no memorials behind of their cherished device. This people probably colonized Scandinavia, whose chieftains or their descendants the Normans, we find in the 12th century regarded it as their favourite heraldic bearing.

This cursory glance is sufficient to show (what a more detailed examination will abundantly confirm) that nations and peoples did not capriciously assume and use the insignia which distinguished them ; that as in other customs, they kept to the observances of their forefathers, and carried them with them in their migrations : that they held in sacred regard *their own* insignia, and cared not to change them or adopt others, except where those of a conquered people were substituted or amalgamated, or some memorable occurrence gave birth to a new device.

Before I attempt to justify and exemplify these last observations, I will proceed to present to the reader's notice the additional facts referred to at the commencement of this chapter.

In the note to page 17, a brief account is given of

the peculiar patterns resembling the tatoo of the New Zealander, found engraved on the slabs of cromlechs in Brittany and Ireland. In the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (xvi. 101) is an article "On the Rock Basins of Dartmoor, and some British Remains in England," by Sir G. Wilkinson, from which the following are extracts :—

Certain rude concentric rings carved upon stones, which as far as my observations carry me, only occur outside the enceinte of ancient forts or of sacred circles, appear to be confined to the north of our island, and chiefly to Northumberland. I have also met with one on the long upright stone outside the sacred circle near Penrith in Cumberland, known by the name of "Long Meg and her Daughters," but they are not found in Devonshire and Cornwall. They generally consist of three or four concentric rings.

* * The first that I observed was that on the stone called Long Meg. This was in 1835, at which time I believe they had never been noticed, and in 1850, I met with other instances of these concentric rings at the double British Camp called Old Berwick in Northumberland. I there found several carved upon two large blocks. * * In 1851 the attention of the Archæological Institute during their meeting at Newcastle, was directed to the discovery of others at Rowtin Lynn near Ford in the same county.

* * There the rings are very numerous, amounting to between twenty and thirty, and the rock is rather more than seventy feet in length. Some are more varied in form than those of Old Berwick, though they seem mostly to be designed on the same principle, with the exception of some small rings, and one of a semi-elliptical figure.

* * On one of the blocks at Old Berwick, are about five rings; and the other bears from ten to twelve, some of which are double, like others at Rowtin Lynn. Other rings are said to be found in Northumberland, at Dowth, and at Ford Westfield, and another occurs on a stone in one of the cells of a tumulus opened in 1853 at Pickaquooy near Kirkwall in Orkney. Some at New Grange near Drogheda in Ireland (on the upright slabs forming the entrance passage to the sepulchral cell) representing a skull-shaped design, may be thought to represent a similar character, but others at the same place, which are convoluted, and consist of several spiral folds turning in opposite directions, differ essentially from the concentric rings here alluded to, and are more like those at Gavr Innis in the Morbihan. Others are found on what are called the Calderstones, near Liverpool; but the principal one being convoluted, while two others consist each of a central and outer ring, with another device below one of them of elongated and pointed form, like an animal's nose, they may also be considered distinct from the concentric rings of Northumberland, though they may assist in establishing the fact of circular devices having been common in the northern parts of the country. Those which are of the very complicated character before

mentioned, bear some analogy to the mazes or labyrinths met with in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Beds, Hants, Wilts, Dorsetshire, and other parts of England cut in turf, and to others formed of stone which are found in Italy.* * * One of the stones figured in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (p. 322) which was once the cover-stone of a cist found at Coilsfield in Ayrshire, has concentric rings carved upon it, not very unlike some at Rowtin Lynn and Old Berwick, and that it is of British time is proved by the *pattern on the urn* containing the burnt bones buried in the tomb. There is also one given in plate 123 of Mr. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones in Scotland*, which was found at High Auchinlay by Wigton Bay, and has similar rings; others have been found on a small slab dug up in the fortified enclosure on a hill top near Dundee. * * * * The introduction of emblems such as the concentric rings, in which the monuments of the North differ from those of Devonshire and Cornwall and other southern parts of Britain, may be owing to some diversity in the habits of the two peoples; for though similar in their general customs, and in their erection of sacred circles, cromlechs, and other monuments, the Celtic tribes of the North and South had some peculiarities which may be traced in their tombs and dwellings, and in certain parts where a difference might reasonably be expected from their being far removed from each other, and above all from their belonging in most cases not merely to different *tribes* but to two distinct *branches* of the Celtic family. It must however be admitted that those who lived still further to the south had the custom of engraving stones with various devices, and some found at Gavv Innis in the Morbihan are covered with most complicated patterns.

The subject is continued by the same distinguished author in volume 18 of the same journal (p. 22) in a long article entitled the "British Remains on Dartmoor" wherein at page 29, he remarks:—

* In volume xv. of the *Archæological Journal* of the "Institute" is an article entitled "Notices of Ancient and Mediæval Labyrinths," from which the following facts and remarks are extracted:—

The Labyrinth in various forms occurs on the reverses of coins of Cnossus (Montfaucon, *Antiquité Exp.* t. ii. pl. xii.: Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*). The Cretan labyrinth is found on the reverses of coins of Cnossus, as also on Greek and Roman gems, and it was occasionally represented on the mosaic pavements of Greek and Roman Halls.

But perhaps the most surprising fact connected with the mythological labyrinth, is its acceptance by Christians, and its adaptation by the church to a higher signification than it originally bore. First, it was used as an ornament on one of the state robes of the Christian Emperors, previously to the 9th century. Next it was adapted in all its details, including the minotaur, by Ecclesiastics, and was portrayed in churches.

I cannot subscribe to the opinion that the conversion of the Britons to Christianity would necessarily lead to the destruction of all the monuments of their former superstition. This is not confirmed by experience. The Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and other sacred monuments remain; many temples were actually converted into churches (as Christian churches were adopted for *mosks* by those most bigoted people the Moslems and their converts) and the early mosaics and paintings of the Christians admitted heathen representations, as Charon, Orpheus, Cupids, the river god of the Jordan, and various emblems into their own sacred subjects, if they happened to be thought suitable to them; and the basilica became a church merely because the temple was still occupied.*

The "long stones" of Britain were probably always sepulchral, and not treated as idols; and were also adopted for this purpose in our island in Christian times, many bearing Latin inscriptions, recording the names of persons buried beneath them. They are then frequently surmounted by a cross, and ornamented with the interlaced work so common in Ireland, which has been rather hastily denominated the Runic knot. One of them with this interlaced ornament near Liskard, bears an inscription purporting that it was of Dongerth, king of Cornwall, who was drowned A.D. 872; another of Carausius the son of Canimorus a Romanized Briton, is near Lostwithiel: another a quarter of a mile from the noted stone near Lanyon called *men scruffa*, "the inscribed stone," bears the name of

* I have found the statue of a god pared down into a Christian saint—a heathen altar converted into a church box for the poor—a bacchanalian vase officiating as a baptismal font—a bacchanalian tripod supporting the holy water basin—the sarcophagus of an old Roman adored as a shrine full of relics—cups which were inscribed to the *Diis Manibus*, now set in pavements hallowed by the knees of the devout—the brass columns of Jupiter Capitolinus now consecrated to the altar of the blessed sacrament—and the tomb of Agrippa now the tomb of a pope.

Nothing could protect a statue from such zealots as St. Gregory, but its conversion to Christianity. That holy barbarian, though born a Roman, and though Pontiff of Rome, was more brutal than its enemies. Alaric and Attila plundered, Genseric and Constans removed; but Gregory's atrocious joy was to dash in pieces. Yet this man, who persecuted the fine arts, and (if we may believe John of Salisbury) burned the imperial library of Apollo, has lately found authors to defend him.

The Catholic religion is surely a friend, but an interested friend to the fine arts. It rejects nothing that is old or beautiful. Had ancient Rome fallen into the power of gloomy Presbyterians, we should now look in vain for the sacred part of its ruins. Their iconoclastic zeal would have confounded beauty with idolatry, for the pleasure of demolishing both. They would have levelled the temple and preached in a barn. The Catholics let the temple stand, and gloried in its conversion to Christianity.—Forsyth's Italy, p. 134.

Riolobran, son of Cunoval, and others are found in various places. Ogham inscriptions also occur on many long stones in Ireland, and on some few in Scotland and Wales, which have been attributed to Christian time (p. 52).

At page 115, the author referring to the concentric rings and markings before mentioned by him, says "Others have since been found in Northumberland, and a description of them as well as of those before alluded to will shortly be given by Mr. Tate of Alnwick, whose son has lately discovered a singular emblem carved on one of the pillar 'trilithons' at Stonehenge;" and he mentions among other convoluted monuments, some found at the Torre dei Giganti in Gozo in Malta, where they resemble rude Greek scrolls.

In the *Archæologia* (xxv. 230) is an article by the Rev. J. B. Deane entitled "Remarks on Celtic monuments at Lochmariaker in Brittany," which he says "was without doubt a great town, and the capital of the district in which it stood, and where is to be seen a group of some of the most interesting Celtic remains in the Morbihan." He thus further observes:—

One of the supporting stones of a cromlech here is charged with remarkable curvilinear characters, regularly arranged in two columns, each containing three divisions of four lines each. * * I can't conceive what they are intended to represent. The table also exhibits upon its under surface two hieroglyphical diagrams similarly raised on the stone; * * one of them resembles in some degree the instrument called a *celt*, the other is more like a *key*. But the former is conjectured by M. Mahé to be intended for the phallic emblem. * * The Syrian deity Lilith, so celebrated in the mythology of the Jewish Rabbins was once adored in the Morbihan. Her statue may be still seen in a perfect state at the chateau of Quinipili near Baud, where it was placed upon a pedestal by a former owner of the domain. The only covering which the figure has is a cap with two flaps, and what is very remarkable, the head-dress of the female peasantry of the commune in which the statue stands is precisely a copy of Lilith's cap, and worn in the same manner. Another peculiarity of dress which savours of an oriental origin, is observable among the male peasants; they all wear a chequered cloth, like the South country plaid of Scotland, bound round the loins, and call it a *turban*. M. de Penhouet conjectures that when the Asiatic colony (whoever they were) emigrated to Brittany, they transferred the turban from the head to the loins, retaining the name, though they lost the original use of the garment. * * Within another

tomb at Lochmariaker (now I believe destroyed) M. de Penhouet discovered in 1813 several very interesting hieroglyphics, which he has engraved in his *Archéologie Armoricaine*. The *circle* (single and concentric) the *horse-shoe*, the branch of a tree, and the harp are the symbols chiefly delineated. The first three are sometimes seen in conjunction with a horse, and horse's head, upon the coins of Armorica.

We will now collect what information can be gleaned concerning the various marks, devices, and patterns, which were impressed on the pottery exhumed from the burial places of the early races of mankind. The great value of this kind of information may be best expressed in the concluding words of Mr. Birch, in his elaborate *History of Ancient Pottery* (ii. 395). "To the history of those races which have left no written records, no inscribed memorials, their pottery is an invaluable guide.

* * Its use is anterior to that of metals; it is as enduring as brass. * * The use of letters is comparatively recent: the glyptic and graphic arts only exist in their later forms as exercised on imperishable materials: but in every quarter of the world, fictile fragments of the earliest efforts lie beneath the soil, fragile but enduring remains of the time when the world was in its youth."

But the information which Mr. Birch's work gives of the rude pottery of pre-historic peoples, as compared with the more elegant vases and other vessels of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, is comparatively scanty, being confined to about twenty pages out of two volumes: under the heading of "Celtic, Teutonic, and Scandinavian Pottery" we are informed (i. 378):—

The pottery which is found in the barrows or tumuli of the early Celtic race, among the remains of stone or bronze weapons, and rude amber and glass beads, resembles in its general appearance the urns of the Scandinavians, and the vases of other primitive people, above all of the Teutonic tribes. * * The principal ornament is the herring-bone, the same which appears on the torcs, celts, bracelets, and glass beads, and is perhaps a representation of the tattooing or painted marks on the body in use amongst the ancient Gauls and Britons. These ornaments differ, *each tribe and age probably adopting a different style*. The early pottery of Scotland found in the graves of the ancient inhabitants, principally of those of the so-called bronze period, anterior to and contemporary with the Roman Con-

quest of Britain is exactly like that of the rest of the island. * * The urns discovered in Ireland are more elaborate in ornament, the whole body of the urn being decorated with punctured marks, lines, zones, zigzags, and bands. The prevalence of the triangular and hatched ornament is peculiarly Celtic, and appears on the gold objects as well as the urns. The ornaments of

TEUTONIC POTTERY

are either painted with colours or moulded or engraved; they consist of hatched lines, bands of points concentric to the axis, meanders, *chequers*, network lines [? heraldic fretty] semi-circles and dots [pellets] diagonals, triangles, lunes [? crescents] and pentagonal ornaments, all peculiar to the Teutonic pottery. Some of the ornaments, such as the meander, are probably as late as the Roman Empire. The prevalent ornamentation in

SCANDINAVIAN POTTERY

is the fret or herring bone, and triangular bands arranged horizontally or vertically to the axis of the vase. They are found in the oldest tombs of the so-called stone period, and held or covered the ashes of the oldest inhabitants of the Cymbric Chersonese. * * Not only *each tribe or family use a separate type of shape and ornamentation*, but even these are in their turn insensibly influenced by time and external circumstances. Hence the advance and progress of certain races as relating to themselves, or as compared with others, are to be seen in their monumental remains.

From the "Guide to the first Vase Room" of the British Museum, by Mr. C. T. Newton, we get the following information respecting the ornamentation of ancient

GREEK AND ETRUSCAN POTTERY.

The earliest specimens of Greek or Etruscan fictile art in the Museum belonging to the Archaic period extending from the commencement of Greek civilization to 440, B.C., are the vases from Athens, Melos, Corinth, and other parts of Greece and the Archipelago. The designs on these vases consist of meanders, stars, lozenges, waves, chequers, and other ornaments, arranged in concentric bands, apparently in imitation of wicker-work. In this style animal forms are very sparingly introduced, and are drawn in the rudest manner. In addition to this, Mr. Birch acquaints us (ii. 3) that the meander ornament differs very considerably on the various vases on which it is found; that chequered panels disposed either horizontally or vertically, are extensively used on the fawn coloured vases, and on those with yellow grounds; that on the earlier vases bands of annulets occur as on the foot of a vase in the British Museum; and that the egg and tongue ornaments are employed on vases of all periods.

In the first and second volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, there is a very interesting series of articles on "Ancient Chinese Vases," with numerous illustrations, furnishing a variety of examples of the peculiar ornamentation at a very early period of the primitive races of the Celestial Empire. The writer informs us that—

At one period of Chinese history a custom seems to have prevailed of interring with the dead honorary vases, which reposed with them for ages till the civil wars, A.D. 200, when the graves of the ancient monarchs and eminent statesmen were dug up, and their ashes dispersed. Many of these ancient relics were then discovered, and have been preserved to the present period. They are said to be 8,500 years old, while their inscriptions establish unquestionably the fact that the present Chinese written character is derived from hieroglyphical representations (i. 58).

Some of the characteristic ornaments or devices are represented in the plates. Amongst them we find the Annulet, Mascle, Crescent, the Dragon and Tiger's-head, the Boar, Fish, and Cat's or Leopard's face. The S ornament is also met with. We seem to have names derived from inanimate objects which were heraldic signs. Thus some of the descendants of the celebrated Yu were called Ko (a lance). Hence from respect and veneration for the family, many of the vases, bottles, jars, etc., of this dynasty have that character engraved on them (i. 82). One vase is chiefly embellished with the Yun-luy (cloud and thunder) ornament (i. 83). Another vase had an ancient form of Ting (a tripod) engraved on it (i. 84).

The ornamentation and symbols found on the sculptured stones of Scotland, and figured in Mr. Stuart's magnificent work before mentioned, are of the highest interest and instruction. Mr. Westwood, who has given great attention to the subject generally, has written a detailed and able account of the contents of this work in a Review of it in the *Archæological Journal* (xiv. 185), from which the following are extracts:—

The ornaments with which a considerable number of these monuments are sculptured correspond almost entirely with those which

are found in the finest Irish and earliest Anglo-Saxon MSS., and which are described in considerable detail in a paper by the writer of this notice published in the *Journal of the Institute*, volume 10. The interlaced ribbon pattern, the interlaced lacertine or other Zoomorphic pattern, the spiral pattern, and the diagonal pattern, are all found on these stones, as elaborately and carefully executed as in the Book of Kells, or the Gospels of Lindisfarne, occurring sometimes as surface decorations of the cross, or at others as marginal borders or frames to the design, being arranged in panels, just as in the MSS.

In the Maiden stone (plate 2) the diagonal Z pattern is arranged into a circle or wheel with remarkable elegance and simplicity, the central space being filled with the spiral or trumpet pattern with less effect. The splendid stone at Shandwick (plates 26 and 27) exhibits in the middle of the reverse side a large square panel filled with the spiral pattern, arranged in gradually enlarged circles in a very unusual manner; the two groups of interlaced serpents at the foot of the stone are also as elegant as they are novel in their arrangement. The groups of lacertine animals on the Nigg stone are very elegant, and bear considerable resemblance to the groups on one of the tessellated pages in one of the St. Gall MSS. of which the writer of this notice has given two examples in one of the plates of Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* as well as a few others (fol. 48, 56). * * * In Suenos stones (plates 20 and 21) the edges are ornamented with a flowing arabesque design, in which although the details are rather confused, there is considerable interlacing intermixed. The same occurs also on the Hilton stone (plate 25) in which the marginal ornament has quite a Norman scroll-like character, with small leaves and berries at the end of the scrolls, and with birds and fantastic dragons introduced into the whorls on this stone. A very similar marginal design also occurs on the fragment at Tarbet. A somewhat similar design at Mugdrum (plate 52) in which a series of circles are united by foliated branches is very effective. * * In the Goldspie stone (plate 34) as well as in the Strathmartin stone (plate 77) and the Abercromby fragment (plate 124) the edges are decorated with a series of S like guilloche frets. * * The Bewre stone (plate 126) has one of the edges and a marginal border of a panel ornamented with a genuine classical fret, formed by opposite lines bent at right angles. * * * We believe the Norwegian Danish or Teutonic influences not to have had the slightest effect on either the formation or modification of the ornamental details on these stones; firstly, because they occur in our national monuments (especially Nigg) centuries before the Northern nations of Europe were Christianized; and secondly, because they do not occur at all in the earliest Norwegian or Danish Christian and Runic monuments.

The *symbols* upon the sculptured stones of Scotland constitute their most remarkable, and indeed unique peculiarities. * * The cross as the chief symbol of the Christian faith appears on a great number of the Scottish stones. The work before us contains 150

stones, and of these 75, or exactly one half, are without representations of the cross, which is often accompanied only by ornamental details, but oftener by the remarkable symbols noticed below, which appear not only on the reverse side of the stone, but often occupying the open spaces above and below the arms of the cross. * *

Of the 75 stones here figured, which are destitute of the Christian symbol of the cross, a considerable portion occur within a limited district, namely along the banks of the river Don and its tributaries, or rather in the North-Eastern extremity of central Scotland, bounded by the river Dee and the Eastern stream of the river Spey; throughout this district which comprises about 40 stones, not more than five bear representations of the cross, and these are but moderately ornamented. They are not however confined to this district, since we find a stone at Sandness (pl. 138) in Shetland, (being the most northerly monument figured in the work) on which the symbols occur which have been termed the mirror, the fibula, and another not unlike a folded and scaled letter; another at South Ronaldshay in the Orkneys (pl. 96) bearing two crescents, with a double oblique sceptre, the mirror and an elegant unique ornament; others are also met with from Dunrobin to Edinburgh. * * *

The feeling which led to the adoption of these symbols was spread over the whole of Scotland, and this is exactly what we also find exhibited by the ornamental devices and sculptured figures. The Bressay stone in Shetland (pl. 95 and 96) which bears a lion, boar, dogs, monkeys, interlaced ribbons, wheel-crosses and monsters devouring a man, might have been sculptured in Angus; and the stone at Farr (pl. 35) Goldspie (pl. 34) at Wilton (pl. 25) Shandwick (pl. 26, 27) Nigg (pl. 28, 29) and Rosemarkie (pl. 105, 6, 7 and 8) all north of the Moray frith, are all as elaborately carved as any of the stones in central Scotland, with which their designs agree; in fact some of the latter equal in their enrichments the most intricate of the ornaments in the finest Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS., and could only have been executed by men perfectly familiar with such works, although we find mixed up with them some one or more of the strange symbols which never occur in the MSS. * * *

With reference to the origin of these symbols Mr. Stuart observes that if they could have been derived from Rome we might "naturally expect to find them in other countries open to the same influence, whereas we have seen that the reverse of this is the case. If again the symbols had been Christian ones, then we should certainly have found them in other parts of Christendom as well as in Scotland. The only inference which remains, seems to be that most of these symbols were peculiar to a people on the North East coast of Scotland, and were used by them at least partly for sepulchral monuments. It seems probable that the early missionaries found them in use among the people of the district, and adopted them for a time, and in a more elaborate shape in the Christian monuments on the principle of concession."

The Z ornament, or reversed Z traversed by a cross-bar accompanied with rings, and surrounded by serpents biting their tails,

occur and are found on Gnostic gems. Mr. Stuart says "it is deserving of observation that while the same symbols perpetually occur on different stones, *yet on no two stones is the arrangement the same, which seems to imply a meaning and intent in the arrangement of them.*

I will now produce some further extracts from the learned and elaborate Introduction and Appendix to Mr. Stuart's sumptuous work, and also from another author on the same highly interesting subject. It will be seen that Mr. Stuart inclines to the view that the symbols spoken of were tribal devices of an heraldic character:—

Besides the objects which are figured on the rude pillar stones, and have been classed as symbols, such as the mirror, comb,* spectacles, horseshoe figure, fish, elephant and serpent, there are the cross slabs, many representations, of which some may perhaps be held to be of the nature of *personal symbols*, such as the dog's head on the silver ornament from Norrie's Law. * * * The Centaur appears both on Scotch and Irish monuments. * * * The Pegasus occurs on British coins, as also the head of Medusa. The Eagle is also a favourite on British as well as Gaulish coins. It is seen on a coin of Tasciovanus with a Griffin on the reverse. Mr. Evans points out the occurrence of the griffin on other British as well as Gaulish coins, and supposes them to be of classical origin. * * * Among the devices on British coins may be noticed circles, crescents and wheels. Among animals figured on British coins are the Boar,† Goat, Hippocampus, Serpent and possibly the Elephant. * * * At St. Andrews we find apes and leopards so formed as to be recognizable. It was the favourite idea of the mediæval architects to in-

* The mirror in ancient Etruscan, Roman, and Frankish tombs is of frequent occurrence on Scottish Pillars and Cross Slabs.

The symbol like a comb resembles a frequent emblem on Indo-Scythic coins (Dr. Moore, p. 94).

† M. de la Saussaye says "the Boar is to be found on the coins of every part of Gaul, as well as on the coins struck by the cognate Celtic races of Britain, Spain, Illyria, and Galatia. In English coins it is to be found on gold, silver, and copper, even on the coins of Cunobelin it is to be seen." The shield found in the bed of the Witham is a fine example of enamelled scroll work. Mr. Franks discovered on cleaning it *the outline of the figure of a boar or hog*, so remarkably identical with that animal as represented on certain Gaulish coins. The fine shield found in the bed of the Thames was enamelled with the *fylfot ornament*: this is in the British Museum.—Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, p. 185.

Tacitus says of the Estonians that they bore as an ensign the form of a Boar (Germania § 45): *vide* Evans' *British Coins*, p. 121.

troduce into churches grotesque figures of animals and men. These were denounced by St. Bernard in the 12th century, and specified as unclean apes, fierce lions, and monstrous centaurs.

* * * Though the same symbols are found throughout the monuments, yet the same arrangement is almost never repeated, so that as a family shield is assumed by those descended from the main house with a difference sufficient to denote their cadency, so these monuments may have represented *degrees in tribal rank and official dignity*, by difference of adjustment, slight indeed, but quite intelligible in the time when they were erected.

* * * The similarity of many of the stone monuments of India to those found in Europe, and some intervening countries is pointed out by Col. Forbes Leslie, in his work on the "Early Races of Scotland, and their monuments." * * Professor Holmboe of the Royal University of Norway has traced a conformity between the monuments of Norway and India, and he infers the influence of Buddhism in Norway before the introduction of Christianity in his work "Traces de Bouddhisme en Norwege avant l'introduction du Christianisme," par M. C. Holmboe, Paris, 1857.

Dr. G. Moore, in his work on the *Ancient Pillar Stones of Scotland*, considers the character of the symbols on them as Buddhistic, and states that Dr. Wise was also struck with their similarity to those he had seen in India. At page 82 he says "We discover the so-called V and Z symbols together with the discs, on several Buddhistic coins of North-Western India: and circles within circles are frequently seen on the sculptured stones of Scotland." At page 85 he tells us "The V and Z symbols are seen on the coins of Apollodotus who reigned in Bactria and over certain Arian provinces of North-Western India B.C. 195. They also occur on the coins of Azes B.C. 126. The elephant also occurs on some coins of Apollodotus, and the figure of an elephant is supposed to be rudely carved on several of the sculptured stones." At page 84 we are informed that—

The double discs or chakrane is one of the symbols of the Pra-Pat'ha, or divine foot-print of Buddha, and is the sign of the power possessed by Buddha to inflict punishment on the wicked in both worlds. Most of the symbols on the more ancient sculptured stones of Scotland may be seen on one or other of the various impressions of Buddha's foot which represents his doctrines as taught by different sects of his followers. That in the British Museum which was brought from Burmah, has several of the symbols which are carved on the sculptured stones, but the list of the symbols on the

Siamese Pra-Pat'ha is somewhat different and more complete, the number of symbols amounting to 108. To recite the meaning of these symbols in the foot-print of Buddha forms the essential part of the priest's duty in his daily teachings before the worshippers of the temple.

The foregoing "fresh illustrations and examples" of the symbols and devices of the early races of mankind may be fitly closed by an account of an extraordinary number and variety of them lately brought to light in Ireland. This is contained in a paper by Mr. Eugene Alfred Conwell, in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society* (v. 217). These pre-historic inscriptions and marks, Mr. Conwell informs us, were revealed on an "examination of the sepulchral cairns on the Lough Crew Hills, co. Meath. Of these, thirty-one were partially destroyed, and had hitherto escaped all previous observation, and are said to surpass in point of magnificence, number, and quaint ornamentation anything of the kind yet discovered in Western Europe. * * Though the carved stones exceed 100 in number, there are not two the decorations on which are similar. In all, so far as the operations have gone, 1393 separate devices have been laid bare. The inscriptions on the sculptured chamber stones in 13 cairns in the entire range may be thus summarized:—

"406 single cup-like hollows, some arranged in parallel lines, some in circles, and many of them scattered in groups; 86 cups each surrounded by a single circle; 30 by two circles; 17 by three circles; 4 by four circles; 3 by five circles; 4 cup hollows each surrounded by a spiral; 35 star-shaped figures varying from four to thirteen rays in each; 22 circles with rays emanating from each; 14 cups, each surrounded by a circle, with rays emanating from each; 16 simple ovals; one figure of two concentric ovals; one of six; 114 single circles; 32 figures of two concentric circles; 10 of three; 6 of four; 4 of five; one of six; 68 semi-elliptical or arched figures; 12 spirals; 14 quadrilateral figures; 6 triangular figures formed by cross-hatched lines; 54 reticulated figures, consisting in all of 138 diameters; nearly

300 single straight lines, some of which may probably be Oghamic; upwards of 80 zigzag or chevron lines; 10 single curves; 11 figures of two concentric curves; 10 of three; 8 of four; 4 of five; 4 of six; 20 of seven; one of eight; one of nine; and two of 13 concentric curves. * * There was discovered also in the graves a most singular and unique collection of worked bone implements, of which 91 were engraved in a very high order of art, with circles, curves, and punctured ornamentations, twelve of which are decorated on both sides; and on one, in cross-hatched lines, is the representation of a stag, being the only attempt in the collection to depict any living thing."

The preceding remarkable figures and patterns met with in such abundance in one locality are not, as we have seen, unexampled. They resemble the marks found amongst the remains of widely separated peoples. Not only are they found in Devonshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Brittany, but also (see plates) in Mexico. And the labyrinth that occurs in various forms on the coins of Cnossus and on Greek and Roman gems (p. 119) may be regarded as of similar meaning to the patterns forming concentric rings and other combinations of curved lines; and not as embodying the primary and symbolical idea of a maze, which doubtless like many other ideas, growing out of a sculptured figure, was derivative and secondary. All the figures just referred to may be classed in the same category as the symbolical devices on the sculptured stones in Scotland, and the various figures and patterns impressed on the pottery of the early races of mankind. Thus viewing them as a whole, and justly inferring a significance in their meaning, we find that that meaning is of a decidedly heraldic character, as expressed or implied in the remarks interspersed by the eminent and authoritative writers whose descriptions have been quoted.

Sir G. Wilkinson (pp. 118, 119) describing these patterns as existing in various parts of the United Kingdom and Brittany, notices that those prevalent in one

district are absent in another, that in this respect "the monuments of the North differ from those of Devonshire and Cornwall"; that this was owing to "different tribes" and that those who lived in the south "had the custom of engraving stones with various devices." Mr. Birch (p. 122) speaking of the ornaments on the pottery of the Celtic and other races says that they "differ, *each tribe* and age probably adopting a different style"; and again (p. 123) "each tribe or family use a separate type of shape and ornamentation." Mr. Stuart (p. 127) speaking of the Sculptured Stones of Scotland, says "on no two stones is the arrangement the same, which seems to imply a meaning and intent in the arrangement of them." Some of them he says "may perhaps be held to be of the nature of personal symbols." And (p. 128) he remarks "though the same symbols are found throughout the monuments, yet the same arrangement is almost never repeated," and suggests that they "may have represented degrees in tribal rank and official dignity."

Were these writers possessed of the whole of the facts, and cognizant of the arguments employed in this work, they would perhaps have had little hesitation in at once concluding that all these various figures so systematically employed, and used not by all races alike, but some by one and others by others, were the primordial devices and patterns originally adopted by the primæval races of men to distinguish one tribe from another; and were the elements, in combination with emblems derived from the animal kingdom, that successive ages developed into the vast and multifarious assemblage of forms and figures, that even in the early periods of the history of Man constituted a systematic and hereditary Heraldry.

As observed at page 17, many of the above mentioned patterns strikingly resemble the *Tattoo* forms punctured on their bodies by the South Sea Islanders and others of modern times. This practice of tattooing, according to the testimonies produced at page 18, seems to have been general with the barbarian tribes of early historical periods; and though we are told that "all sorts of ani-

mals" were marked on their bodies, there can be no doubt that such patterns and figures as are found on modern savages, were also such as distinguished their primæval ancestors. In modern times we find the same diversity of figures as in ancient periods; and a similar ethnographical variety of usage.*

It is conceivable that in an early stage of civilization,

* The following information concerning Tattooing is from Pickering's *Races of Men* :—

The Western Paumotuans of the Malay race exhibit the chequered pattern of tattooing, which seems peculiar to them.

In New Zealand, Tattooing is incised, and is a much more painful operation than in the rest of Polynesia. The quantity of markings about the face seems to be very much in proportion to the rank of the individual, each chief however having some variation in the pattern (p. 77).

In the Hawaiian Islands the natives are unable to form any conjectures as to the origin or object of the practice of tattooing. Formerly the body was much more covered with these markings than at present, one side often being completely blackened, and to a certain extent it would have been possible to designate individuals by the copy of the pattern (p. 89).

Amongst the Sacramento tribes, most of the men had some slight marks of tattooing on the breast, disposed like a necklace. The presence of the custom amongst the Malay Americans should be noted in considering the origin of the slight tattooing found occasionally among the Chinooks, and the more northern tribes, even it is said to the vicinity of Behring Straits (p. 105).

Neither in the Banshee islands, nor in any other part of the East Indies were seen the slightest marks of tattooing (p. 120).

In regard to the Fiji islanders, the seeming absence of tattooing was at first attributed to the circumstance that the Feejee complexion is too dark to show the markings conspicuously. It appeared however that the women have the practice, and cover the markings by the dress. Ornament and national designation are in this case out of the question, and the reasons assigned by the Fijians are probably not more reliable than their tales respecting circumcision and the removal of a finger joint. Tattooing occurs among the modern Arabs, derived apparently from certain notions of antiquity; and there seems every probability that the custom originated with a light-coloured race. In many instances, the women were further marked on the arms, and upper part of the breast with elevated scars, such as have been observed to replace tattooing in other countries where the complexion is very dark. These scars had sometimes the form of stars or of concentric circles (p. 150).

In Pritchard's *Natural History of Man*, are engraved portraits of Mozambique Caffirs, one of whom has a star on his face and breast; and another a star with pellets on his forehead and cheeks.

or rather in a semi-barbarous state, the practice of tatooing arose from the necessity of establishing some mode of individual identity amongst strangers, and as a visible guarantee of immunity and privilege. Before any variety of costume was obtainable beyond the clothing afforded by the skins of wild beasts and fabrics of a rude texture, and personal ornaments of a valuable kind were unknown, some proof of belonging to a particular tribe was desirable beyond what personal knowledge and recognition could furnish, and in the absence of those appliances of civilization which establish individual identity. We have seen in the note to page 18 that slaves were not marked with the tatoo.

One striking peculiarity in all ancient ornamentation and heraldic forms, is the rare occurrence of the heraldic chequy pattern. As this is one of the simplest, most obvious, and easily executed of all patterns, its rarity affords a strong negative argument against the independent origin in different countries of heraldry and ornamentation generally; and therefore a powerful presumption in favour of the hereditary transmission of heraldic devices from the earliest periods.

The “modes of transmission of Heraldic symbols from ancient to modern times” appear to have been these three:—

1. By Inheritance, as in the case of Heads of Tribes, Clans and Families, and Individual Persons.
2. By Succession, as in the case of Empires, Kingdoms and States; and Corporate Bodies.
3. By Adoption, as in the case of taking the device of a vanquished foe, or appropriating the symbols on the coinage of another people.*

* The modes of acquiring heraldic insignia in England during the early centuries since the Conquest I have stated in an article on “Fanciful and Imaginary Armory” in the *Herald and Genealogist* for January 1868 (pp. 51–61). These it will be appropriate to reproduce here, with some of the accompanying remarks:—

Although fanciful armory may have been in use from the Conquest to the present time in the way mentioned [viz. on the Bayeux tapestry, some ecclesiastical vestment work, enamelled dishes and vessels, re-

I. The hereditary transmission of heraldic devices amongst the ancients is almost without exception disputed

presentations of the murder of Thomas à Becket, etc.] yet it is not difficult, without any examples, and *à priori*, to affirm that it could not have been employed on seals, in churches, on tombs, or in any way where an individual or a family wished to display a *personal* permanent distinctive device. The rolls of arms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries amply testify to the existence of strict rules in the formation of coats of arms. Colour was not placed on colour, nor metal on metal. "Differencing" was made according to prescribed methods. The same symmetry and harmony were observed in the composition of a new coat, as in the equally infinite combinations made in the tracery of a church window. The same severe taste prevailed in heraldry as in architecture. A code of laws unwritten, or not come down to us (except partially in the *Boke of St. Albans* and subsequent authors) must have long regulated the practice of the art amongst its professors the Heralds. These we have evidence exercised their functions as early as Edward the third, if not earlier; and though few of their grants of arms remain, we may fairly presume that they controlled and regulated the use of coat-armour, recorded existing bearings, were the authority for the issue of new ones, and denounced usurpations and irregularities. In proof of this, the well known roll of Edward the second may be cited. This contains eleven hundred coats of knights all over England; yet in it there are not half a dozen repetitions. It is true, in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, it came out in evidence that three families, Scrope, Grosvenor, and Carminow, each bore *Azure a bend or*; but this only shows an instance of families living wide apart having inadvertently omitted some original *difference* that had distinguished their respective coats. But that this identity of bearing was exceptional, and contrary to rule, the roll of the Siege of Caerlaverock strikingly confirms, where it is said that Brian Fitz-Alan and Hugh Pointz both bore, *Barry or and gules*, "neither more nor less, at which *many marvelled*, men and women." (H. and G. ii. 383.)

Ki portoit ne plus ne meins

Dont merveille avoit meinte e meins.

And that a coat of arms was special property, and like a modern patent or trade-mark, if imitated or appropriated, furnished cause for proceedings before an authoritative tribunal, we have not only the evidence of the contest between Scrope and Grosvenor, but that of the Grey and Hastings controversy, and the proceedings of Lord Lovel against Morley. (*Vide* H. and G. ii. 1.) We have moreover, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, cases of alienation by deed of their arms by one person to another, and grants by barons to their tenants of their own bearings, with modifications.

All this shows that during the periods in question, the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. at least, the usurpation of armorial bearings was punishable, and therefore a rare and exceptional act.

* * * * *

by writers on the subject; and there is almost the same unanimity in the opinion that that characteristic was not co-eval with the first introduction or appearance of armorial insignia in mediæval times, but only commenced two or

That armorial seals were used at "second-hand" is well known, but that they were so used *arbitrarily*, remains to be proved; and as I have shown is improbable. Whether used on a seal, on the battle-field, or at a tournament, armorial bearings were family and personal devices of a *distinctive* character. An indiscriminate or unregulated use would defeat their purpose, and frustrate their utility. When the evidence of the execution of a deed was not a man's hand-writing, but the attestation of a *seal*, it would be essential that the latter should be known to be *his*, either from hereditary or acquired right, or if another's, should be used with authority, and this just as much and in an analogous sense as a man's signature at the present day. When therefore we find that a particular coat of arms (it must be remembered that seals do not supply the tinctures) was used in a district by different persons, bearing always in mind the punishment impending on an unlawful appropriation, it behoves us much rather to seek for the cases in which this plurality of usage was allowed, than by foregoing such an examination to come to the hasty conclusion that such usage was "arbitrary."

To assist in this inquiry, the modes of acquiring heraldic insignia must be stated. These seem to have been chiefly—

1. Immemorial usage and inheritance.
2. Grant or concession from the sovereign or a herald.
3. Concession or alienation by deed or will of a private person's arms wholly or partially to another.
4. Marriage of a heiress or elder co-heiress.
5. Tenure of office, royal, baronial, knightly and ecclesiastical.
6. Purchase or acquisition of a dignity, barony or manor, to which armorial bearings were appurtenant.

This classification does not include the cases where arms were used on seals "at second-hand;" for I apprehend such usage was only occasional, temporary, and provisional, though tolerated, and within certain limits regular. Many seals on the death of their owners must have fallen into the hands of representatives by marriage, and collateral descendants; these would be *utilized* by such persons, as at the present day, and where no near neighbour's rights could be invaded, would be as well understood to be peculiar to the person using them as a signature now. Impaled coats of others were so used even by persons having ancestral arms. But were such coats *permanently appropriated* by parties not deriving them from any of the specified six sources? Did they have new matrices made with the legend *Sigillum*, etc.? Did they exhibit them on tombs, church windows, and in their halls, where they would be exposed to constant observation and criticism? That such cases occurred is not shown; that they did not we may confidently affirm from the whole spirit and tone of heraldic practice as heretofore instanced.

three generations subsequently. Empirical knowledge in both cases seems to have been the foundation of this opinion. All our knowledge of what were the heraldic devices of the ancient Greeks as regards authors, is got from Homer, Æschylus, and Euripides; and as respects monuments, from sepulchral vases. The arguments which these sources of information appear to furnish against hereditary usage, have been noticed and answered in chapter IV. and therefore need not be here repeated. The information we obtain as to the character of ancient Roman Heraldry has been partially considered in the same chapter, and will be more particularly dwelt upon presently. The hereditary character and origin of mediæval heraldry will be discussed at large in a subsequent chapter. We will proceed then to make some general observations on the subject, primarily of a theoretical nature.

Every heraldic writer admits that military chieftains have in all times inscribed on their banners and their shields some appropriate device, either as a personal distinction, or as typifying some quality, and to serve the purposes of recognition and identity.* As these equipments of warfare (shields and banners) are its permanently essential constituents—at least the latter, and the former till modern times,—it is obvious that any devices inscribed on them should have some permanent character, or a frequent change would frustrate the purpose of recognition and identity :

* It is quite evident that painted shields and military ensigns of some sort are coeval with the art of war itself.—Art. "Heraldry" in Brewster's *Edinburgh Cyclopædia*.

It is an indisputable fact that in all ages of the world, and amongst all races of men, some form of symbolical expression has been both in use and in favour. And it is equally true that this symbolism, whatever it may have been, has generally been found in some way associated with a military life and with the art of warfare. Soldiers and particularly those in high command have always delighted to adorn their shields with devices, that sometimes were significant of their own condition and exploits, or sometimes had reference to their country or even to their families; and in like manner it has been a universal custom to display similar devices and figures in military standards of all kinds.—Boutell's *English Heraldry*.

——— ut conspicuum in prælio
 Haberent signum quod sequerentur milites.*

We have a practical illustration of the important purpose that fixed heraldic devices serve amongst the North American Indians. Mr. Schoolcraft in his laborious and magnificent work on the *Indian Tribes* (i. 420) says "The Totem is employed as the evidence of the identity of the family and of the clan. The totem is in fact a device corresponding to the heraldic bearings of civilized nations, which each person is authorized to bear as the evidence of his family identity. * * *No person is permitted to change or alter his totem*; and such change is absolutely unknown amongst them."

There is besides another strong motive against a temporary use of a symbol and against altering it: an emblem that has witnessed a victory, that has been triumphant on many a battle field, that has never succumbed to defeat or capture, becomes a cherished and honoured ensign; and like an illustrious name is handed down as symbolical of renown. These considerations are so natural, and prevail so generally in all such matters, that it is marvellous they should have so little weight with writers on the subject. What confusion would be caused if our maritime flags were constantly changed! Even the "colours" of the owners of race-horses are individual and permanent, and recorded in the pages of the *Racing Calendar*! Moreover, "the merchant's marks" of former times, before writing was general, and the "trade-mark" of the present day are unalterable; and an infringement of the latter is jealously watched, and guarded by legal prohibition.

Let us inquire then if so sensible, so obviously natural a theory is not verified by facts.

The first mention that we have of heraldic emblems, expressly notices their hereditary nature. The Bible tells us (Numbers ii. 2) "Every man shall pitch by his own standard with the *ensign of his father's house*." We have seen (p. 33) that Euripides states that Parthenopæus bore on his shield a "*family device*." Mr. King

* Phædrus, Fab. iii.

in his *Handbook of Gems* (p. 216) says that "the devices on the signets of the ancients were both hereditary and unalterable, like our armorial bearings." Ovid in the 7th book of the *Metamorphoses* speaks of the *signa sui generis* on the hilt of the sword of Theseus. Virgil mentions the *insigne paternum* on the shield of Aventinus (*Æneid* vii. 657). Corvinus in the poem of Silius exhibits on his helmet a crow. To show that this was an hereditary bearing, it is described as *ostentans alas proavilæ insignia pugnae*. The following passage from Suetonius offers unquestionable testimony to the existence of hereditary family devices among the Romans:—*Vetera familiarum insignia*, says the historian, speaking of Caligula, *nobilissimo cuique ademit; Torquato torquem; Cincinnato crinem Cn. Pompeio, stirpis antiquæ, magni cognomen*. The persons mentioned were probably the heads of the several families, who alone were accustomed to wear these ensigns, and therefore alone could lose them. *Cognomina*, too, were well known to have been hereditary. The letter which Cicero opened during the Catilinarian conspiracy was sealed with the head of his grandfather. Dio records that the head of Augustus engraved by Dioscorides was the signet used by his successors, until Galba substituted for it *his own family device*. (King)

If we explore the peninsula of Hindoostan, we shall find the hereditary principle maintained in their devices by the people of that country. A deed is engraved on a plate of copper with the *figure of a boar*, the distinctive symbol or seal of the Chalukyas family, the oldest race in the records of the Dekhan, which device was subsequently adopted by the Kings of Vijayanagar. The date of this plate is 609 A.D. Lands are *still* on similar metallic deeds granted by them *bearing the same effigy on the seal*. (*Vide* p. 10, and in the preceding pages will be found mention of the devices of the various tribes of Rajahstan, mentioned in Colonel Tod's work, who states that the feudal system prevailed in that country, and that the various races or clans had all their heraldic bearings from time immemorial.)

It is true, when we find mention made in ancient writers of personal or family devices, we are not always told if they were hereditary; but casual indications and incidental allusions as these are, are necessarily deficient in information such as we should like to have; and so are they in literature written at a time when heraldic devices were in England hereditary, as will be seen hereafter. Indeed in the well known poem of the Siege of Caerlaverock, A.D. 1300, which describes the arms of the warriors there present, their coat-armour, their characters, and many heraldic peculiarities, no mention is made at all of any of the coats being hereditary; but *we know that they were* at that time, for in many instances we can prove it, from seals and earlier rolls of arms. On the other hand, we find in the *Leges Hastiludiales* of the Emperor Henry the Fowler, in the 10th century (which will be given hereafter) that were made to regulate Tournaments, that the disputants were to show their right to *insignia gentilitia* for four generations, probably the origin of the *seize quartiers* of the Germans.

II. The permanent succession of national emblems is so clearly ascertained that it has never been one of the disputed points in any treatise on Heraldry. Even new political confederacies or new dynasties have taken care to observe the principle of permanency and individuality or recognition of former insignia. The flag of the United States of America was adopted from the armorial bearings of Washington their founder. The United Provinces of the Netherlands on their independence devised for their standard the appropriate device of the national lion of Flanders, borne by the Counts from the 11th century, grasping in his paw 7 arrows, to denote the seven provinces; whilst Belgium on becoming a nation retained the lion alone. Napoleon the first adopted the Eagle, because he regarded Charlemagne as his predecessor, who used that emblem as successor to the Roman Emperors of the West. The crosses of St. George, St. Edmund, and St. Edward appear on the seals of the

Plantagenet Kings of England. The white horse of Horsa has been the ensign of the county of Kent from the fifth century to the present day. The dragon of the Saxons was used by the Norman monarchs of England. Henry the third displayed it at the Battle of Lewes, 1265. Many of the armorial bearings of Earls and Barons were considered appurtenant to their Earldoms or Baronies, and were borne by their successors though of different families. The arms of Bishopricks, Monasteries, Guilds, and other corporate bodies, are instances of the *succession* of heraldic insignia as distinguished from inheritance.

The cohort-ensigns of the Roman armies forms an analogous case to the "colours" of our own regiments since the period of Henry VIII. or perhaps somewhat later, when the feudal practice of leading his followers to battle by the Baron or Knight, under his own banner, seems to have been discontinued. A remarkable instance of the continued and successive use of an heraldic device, originally probably of a religious import, (see p. 13) is seen in the Cinqfoil, which is found apparently as a sacred ornament on the dress of the Assyrian Monarchs, is met with on the robes of consuls in the 6th century, occurs on the mantles of the Carlovingian Kings, and is found on the consecrated banner presented by the Pope to Charlemagne. The fleur de lis and the dove as variously displayed, were also borne with a traditional symbolism, from the time of the Assyrians.

III. The practice of adoption or appropriation of the weapons, banners and insignia of a vanquished enemy, or of some usage of a superior race, is founded on an instinct of human nature. The victorious Indian scalps his antagonist, and his skull is proudly exhibited as a trophy or an ornament. The principle is thus noticed by Virgil, *Æneid* (ii. 388-93), where Corcebus says:—

Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque *insignia* nobis
Aptemus :
 . . . Sic fatus, deinde comantem
 Androgei galeam, clypeique insigne decorum,
Induitur, laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.

We have seen (p. 45) that the ancient Romans bore at different periods for their national ensign the Eagle, the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Horse, and the Wild Boar. Probably the wolf, for various reasons that have been noticed, was their first emblem. The eagle, though not apparently the latest taken, was the eventual chief and permanent Imperial ensign. No device seems generally to have been held in such high estimation as symbolizing dominion as the King of Birds;* but evidently not as an independent selection, for abstract reasons, but as the appropriated emblem of some vanquished enemy, or of some incorporated kingdom.

The coins of one people were often appropriated by another (see p. 12). For two centuries after the Romans quitted England, the Saxons made use of their coins, and appear to have had no mintage of their own; and afterwards adopted some of their devices, as the Wolf and Twins, the Pegasus, etc. The sitting figure of Britannia with a shield by her side on the copper coinage of the present day, is almost a fac-simile of coins of Claudius and Antoninus Pius.

If then the transmission of Heraldic devices from the earliest times has been by Inheritance, Succession, and Adoption, there is no room left for the idea that any particular class or system of devices has been temporarily prevalent in any age or country, has fallen into disuse, and a new set at a subsequent period been devised; nor that some warriors adopted them and others did not, and that the fashion prevailed at one time and not at another, in one warlike country and not in all. We observe throughout, the Great Law of Continuity.

* Eagle ensigns were constantly the companions of the Dragons. We meet with them in China, India, Bactria, Persia, Egypt, amongst the successors of Alexander, the Romans and the Celtæ. The Arabs had the eagle carved, made of metal, and its skin stuffed and set up as if living. A black Eagle was the ensign of Kalid, Mahomet's General, at the battle of Aisnadin; and the carved Eagle is still seen on the walls of the citadel of Cairo, set up by Kara-Koosh, vizier of Salah-ed-Deen.—Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*.

The oldest patterns, as chequy, lozengy, etc., are such as are in use almost all over Europe at the present day; as are most of the emblems derived from the animal kingdom, formerly borne in India, in Greece, and Rome. If we inspect the plates giving the cohort-ensigns from the *Notitia Imperii*, and Trajan's Column, we find, it is true, the absence in European Heraldry, of many of their identical combinations and figures; such, like the legions who bore them, have perished, or a few of them may have been adopted by mediæval chiefs, probably *novi homines*;* but on the other hand, the parti-coloured shields and others, bearing animals and birds, borne alike by the Teutonic and Gallic chieftains, and the oldest European houses, have taken their place; because the latter were descended from the former, who themselves became the Dukes and Counts of the various provinces constituting the disrupted Roman Empire. In like manner, the lion and other bearings of the Anglo-Norman nobles supplanted the different devices borne by the subjugated Saxon thanes. So in Language, words of one race have been superseded by the words of an invading people, and are now only to be found in remote places and corners; and like some words, some heraldic figures have altered their form, by entering into new combinations. And, as in language the names of common objects have preserved their identity through all time and pervade all tongues, so the patterns and symbols found on the earliest memorials of mankind, their cromlechs and sepulchral pottery, viz. geometrical figures, the crescent, the roundel, the chevron, dancette, and various scroll and fret-patterns,† are found in the ornamentation and heraldry of almost every age and country.

* Strikingly resembling patterns to some of the more peculiar cohort-ensigns are found in the plates of Spener, and other German authors on Heraldry.

† Some of these are found in European arms of the present day or of two centuries since. Specimens will be found in Spener and other German authors. The whirlpool borne as a coat of arms by the family of Gorges in the 13th century (p. 115) is an exact resemblance to some of the patterns on the Irish and other cromlechs, and may have been inherited through ages from the tribes who

A distinctive banner is an essential constituent of a feudal or tribal system of society. It is a rallying sign to the vassals of a baron, and the members of a tribe or clan. These systems are antagonistic to the municipal system of the Roman empire, for example, and are necessarily discouraged in an imperial policy which seeks to extinguish or amalgamate all independent authority, and to make the state the centre and source of all power. Accordingly, the cohort-devices of the Roman Empire could not harmoniously have co-existed with such a display of family ensigns by the chiefs of patrician families as were made by the great barons of the middle ages; and it is probable that the modes of their use were subject to regulations and restrictions. There can be no doubt that the 3000 independent princes and nobles of the ancient Chinese Empire mentioned at p. 248 had each his heraldic ensign; these in like manner it may be conceived would be discontinued, or confined to subordinate uses, on the abolition of an hereditary aristocracy; and as we have seen (p. 15) a system of personal distinctions for the different orders and functionaries of the state now prevails in that country, apparently something like the different degrees of the Legion of Honour in France. The disuse of heraldic insignia amongst the nations professing the Mahometan faith is intelligible, as that religion disallows pictorial display of animate objects.

The hereditary transmission of heraldic devices implies a regulated and systematic use, as opposed to capricious assumption, and the indiscriminate and variable use of emblems. The figures on cromlechs, the symbols on the sculptured stones of Scotland, the patterns and devices on early pottery, and the totems and tatoo marks of savages, we have seen were not common alike to all races—were not arbitrary, but strictly confined each to particular tribes, and systematically varied and arranged.

bore it. There is an ancient British bronze shield in the British Museum whose surface is covered with concentric rings, alternately with rows of roundels. This was probably the heraldic pattern of some chieftain.

The plates of this work which exhibit the heraldic tablets and shields and banners of the Ancient Mexicans as found sculptured on their stone monuments, or depicted in their pictorial state annals, display a remarkable variety of arrangement of the few symbols and patterns which constituted the elements of their Heraldry.

That there was systematic arrangement in the cohort-devices of the Roman legions, a glance at the engravings in the works of Montfaucon and Pancirollus, and at the specimens in the plates of this volume, will at once discover; and they are moreover described in detail (or to speak heraldically, blazoned) in the ample pages of the *Notitia Imperii*.

The great majority of the devices on the shields of Greek Warriors, as depicted on vases, are derived from the animal kingdom, and display a single serpent, lion, bull, etc.; but we find also (as on Greek coins) to use heraldic language, a demi-lion, a demi-goat, a horse's head coupé, etc., and two dolphins, two lions, etc.

These resemblances alone to the modern system exhibit a spirit of arrangement and classification; but when we find out of the same elements that enter into modern armory, viz. the annulet, roundel, and crescent, combinations are made of precisely the same character, and equally varied, as we see on the triangular shields of Anglo-Norman barons and knights (see plates), nothing but the most wilful prejudice, and the blindest pedantry can stand in the way of recognizing in ancient Greek heraldry as complete a system of its kind as prevailed in the 13th century, throughout England and the Continent.*

* The important inquiry involved in this chapter of the "Unity or Diversity of the Origin of Heraldic Devices, and of Ornamentation," will be discussed in a chapter with this title in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEDIÆVAL HERALDRY.

MR. KING in his *Hand-Book of Gems*, (p. 216) in the following remarks considers the cohort devices mentioned in Chapter IV., as constituting the foundation on which arose the system of European Mediæval Heraldry:—

“Under the Roman Empire, when all the usages of war had become fixed, and regulated by invariable and minute laws, military cognizances were also subjected to the strictest prescription. The distinguishing of the several legions by the devices painted on their shields is alluded to by Tacitus and by Ammian, and what is more, that invaluable picture of the Lower Empire in the 5th century, the *Notitia Imperii*, preserves the actual designs (many of them perfectly heraldic) which distinguished not merely the legions, but their component cohorts or companies from each other. Curiously enough the figures on the shields of William the Norman's knights, as depicted on the Bayeux tapestry, are simple, and single dragons or circles variously disposed, presenting a very marked analogy in their nature to the cohort-shields: indeed it was no more than probable that such distinctions should have survived the Franks and Gauls, who from Constantine's age downwards had constituted almost exclusively the material of the Roman armies, and who naturally on founding nationalities for themselves preserved many of the institutions of the school in which they had been trained. And what corroborates this theory is the remark of Procopius that the Armoricans long after the establishment of the Merovingian dynasty in Gaul continued to be distinguished from their neighbours by their Roman arms and military discipline.”

This is a very plausible theory, but true only if at all in a very partial degree. 1. It does not account for the presence of a large element in European blazonry, viz. parti-coloured shields, including what are technically called “ordinaries,” which are altogether wanting in the

heraldry of the Roman armies. Nor, 2. does it explain the great prevalence of the lion in European armory, almost entirely absent on the Roman shields. And 3. a large proportion of the peculiar devices of these latter, as the thunderbolt, wreath, and nameless forms, are not met with in mediæval coats of arms.

The Dukes and Counts who on the dissolution of the Empire of the West erected the territories they governed into little principalities, might undoubtedly many of them adopt as their ensign the time-honoured device of a defunct Roman legion, and their Viscounts might make a similar appropriation with some modification, whilst lesser dignitaries it may be conceived would follow the custom by assuming the emblems of a disbanded cohort. Such a practice would certainly explain the community of many symbols in Roman and mediæval heraldry. But although it most probably prevailed to a limited extent, and in certain cases, yet there are other more obvious and probable sources for the derivation of the charges of European heraldry.

Tacitus (De Mor. Ger. vi.) speaking of the Germans says *Scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt.* The word *tantum* here excludes those symbols and more significant devices which we have seen are met with on the Roman shields. And the "chosen colours" would consequently be a correct description of those parti-coloured patterns, which are the most ancient as well as the most prevalent forms of mediæval blazonry. And Diodorus Siculus mentioning the Gauls uses this language. "Their garments," he says "are very strange, for they wear *parti-coloured* coats, interwoven here and there with divers sorts of flowers [? diapering] * * Their defensive arms are a shield *garnished with their own ensigns*. Some carry the shape of beasts in brass as well for defence as ornament; upon their heads they wear helmets of brass, and the shapes of birds and beasts carved upon them."*

* Translation by Booth: London, fol. 1700, p. 188. Mr. King, the author of *Antique Gems*, in a paper in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 28) on the signet of Q. Cornelius Lupus [before referred to

We here find that the people of a considerable portion of Europe long before the extinction of the Roman power, and probably of immemorial inheritance had "their own ensigns." And when we consider the great probability that all the nations and tribes who overran the Roman empire had likewise their own especial and hereditary emblems, which in the spirit of ancestral reverence they would sacredly cherish, we can be at no loss in fixing the sources whence were derived the principal bearings found in European coats of arms in the twelfth and succeeding centuries.

The *direct evidence* for their existence however in the early centuries of the Christian era it must be admitted is entirely wanting. But this need excite no surprise. Professor Westwood in an article on consular diptychs* thus describes the extreme scarcity of monumental remains of any kind at this period :

"These objects [diptychs] formed almost the only links in the history of art from the decline of the Roman Empire till the reign

p. 48] has these remarks : "The peculiar fashion of the shields upon our gems remarkably illustrates the description given by Diodorus Siculus, of that portion of their defensive armour. Julius Cæsar has strangely enough omitted all mention of the arms or costume of his Gallic adversaries : he probably considered them too well known to his Roman readers to require any further notice in the sketch he gives of their institutions. But Diodorus, writing a few years later, and in Greek for the world at large, has fortunately to gratify the curiosity of those more remote, gone into the minutest particulars of the subject. He says [as Mr. King renders it] : They wear a curious kind of dress, dyed tunics ornamented with colours of every possible sort, and trowsers, or as they themselves call them *bracæ*. Over them they wear, fastened by a fibula, large striped mantles (*sagi*) of a shaggy stuff in winter, of a smooth in summer, *chequered all over in squares*, of many colours set close together. For armour, they use shields as tall as the man, and painted over after a peculiar fashion. Some of these shields have *figures of animals*, in relief, of bronze, not merely for ornament, but also for defence, and very well wrought. They wear bronze helmets, having lofty projections, rising out of them, and which impart a gigantic appearance to the wearers ; for upon some are fixed pairs of horns united, upon others, the *heads of birds or of beasts*, forged out of the same metal."

* Gentleman's Magazine, July 1863.

of Charlemagne. The remains of Stone Art, such as buildings, sculpture, &c. were almost entirely if not quite wanting during this period. Painted glass and the paintings of MSS. were also quite unknown during this period, and it was only in the Catacombs that wall paintings entirely of a religious character supplied an evidence of the practice of the pictorial art."

On the statues of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings at St. Denis, figured in Montfaucon's great work, *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, we find the cinqfoil embroidered on their robes, and also in the co-eval representation in mosaic work, of Charlemagne being presented with a banner by the Pope. This banner is in heraldic language semée of cinqfoils, so that the cinqfoil as an heraldic ensign seems for some generations to have been of royal and imperial usage. An eagle was engraved on the hilt of the sword of Charlemagne (*La Barte*, *Hand Book of the Arts*, p. 114).

And as regards books and MSS. Mr. Hallam remarks, "Nothing can be scantier than our historical materials" at this period.

In the poem of Abbon (book i. v. 19) who was a monk of the abbey of St. Germain des Prés, and an eye witness of the siege of Paris at the end of the 9th century, occurs this line—

Saxa fremunt parmas [scuta] quatientia pictas.*

But it is not till the 9th and 10th centuries, that we meet with any satisfactory allusions to the practice of painting or inscribing devices on the shields of warriors. But, first, the Literature of the early mediæval period, or rather what has come down to us, as before intimated, is comparatively insignificant in amount and character; and, 2ndly, silence on the subject in what remains and fragments we possess, is no argument, necessarily, in favour of its non-existence. In our own day, the display of blazonry is greater, more general, and more multifarious than probably at any period of its history: and yet in our abundant and minute literature heraldic allu-

* Pautet—*Nouvel Manuel du Blason*. Paris, 12mo. 1843, p. 49.

sions are extremely rare. A biographical notice of a deceased peer in the *Times* never gives his armorial bearings; we should as readily expect to find the colour of his hair or his stature noticed as the blazon of his coat-armour. In history, poetry, and works of fiction, the subject is rarely mentioned, and only in general terms. A character in a novel may be most minutely portrayed; but no novelist thinks of telling us what device he uses on his note paper, or what crest he displays on his carriage. If then, in the mass of writing daily issued by the press, describing manners and customs and passing events, these subjects are rarely met with, why should we expect any or more than occasional allusions in our fragmentary mediæval literature?

But fortunately when we come down to the 10th century, we have in the *Leges Hastiludiales* of Henry the Fowler, the most express mention of the practice of *hereditary heraldic bearings*, not as an incidental allusion, but a specific and distinct regulation concerning them.

“Henrici Imp. Aug. Statuta et Privilegia ludorum equestrium sive Hastiludiorum, anno Christi, 938.

IX. Uti si quis ratæ nobilitatis erit qui in unum aut plures Duodecim Articulorum, in ludis equestribus observandorum commiserit, et nihilominus cum reliquis decurrere præsumat, pro familiæ suæ gloria: hunc Sodalitii, in quo nomen dederit, servus publicus, *uni ex Heroltis* indicet; ut simul *insignia ejus* in harenâ conspecta fuerint, verberibus de more mulctetur; nisi si quis ex eadem familia culpam consanguinei sui purgare paratus erit; quod Heroltus Regi Circuli sub quo succedaneus is censetur indicare tenetur ut ita cum priore illo mitius agatur. Similiter idem Heroltus ubi arma *insignia-que ejus* agnoverit, qui pro altero pænæ et decursioni se offert proclamare debet *talem aut talem* adjecto nomine et cognomine ejus, pro alio consanguineo suo cum et sub his armis pænæ et juri equestri se submittere, ut spectatores et præcipue matronæ virginesque Aulicæ pro alio cum hæc pati et non pro se, intelligant.”*

The 12th article referred to here with the title at its head is as follows:†

* *Collectio Constitutionum Imperialium*, by Goldastius, 4 vol. folio, Frankfurt, 1713. Vol. 1 p. 211.

† Ibid. ii. 42.

Henrici I. Aucupis Imperatoris Augusti Leges Hastiludiales, sive de Torneamentis Latæ Gottingæ in Saxonia, anno Domini DCCCCXXXVIII.

Capit XII.

De hominibus } Quisquis recentioris et notæ nobilis et non talis ut
novis. } a stirpe nobilitatem suam et origine *quatuor saltem generis auctorum proximorum gentilitibus insignibus probare possit*, is quoque ludis his exesto: aut si unus pluresve emendicatæ hujusmodi nobilitatio cum iis, quibus jus est decurrendi sese permiscuerint hi tales verberibus mulcentur et ubi de equo concurrerint septis notæ causa in equitate adigantur.

Article XIII. imposes pains and penalties for the infraction of the 12 preceding articles, and concludes with the alternative "aut nobilitatis famæ *insignum gentilitiorum* denique amissionem incurrat."*

In these passages we have unequivocal proofs of the long established usage of family ensigns or symbols; of the existence of heralds to register and regulate them; and evidence of their being regarded as marks of honour and the especial privilege of the nobly born. The question now arises, were these *insignia* different in kind from the heraldic bearings prevalent in the 12th century as well as from those borne on the shields of the Gauls and Germans? That they were not of recent origin we have seen; that after having been a long time in use they should have been abandoned during the 11th century and resumed in the 12th, is conceivable on no grounds afforded by analogy or experience: that in like manner the practice observed by the Gauls and the Germans in the 1st century should have been discontinued by their immediate successors, and again taken up in the

* In a work by George Fabricius entitled *Saxonia Illustrata* (fol. Leipsic 1607) p. 122 it is remarked of Henricus Auceps or the Fowler: under the head "Institutio Ludorum equestrium" "Nobilitatem omnem convocat et ludos equestres quales antea non fuerant publice celebrandos curat et instituit. * * Horum ludorum apparatus splendidissimum leges gravissimas et sanctas nomina ducum principum comitum equitumque certantium libro singulari collegit Georgius Rinxnerus Caduceator Maximiliani I. Imperatoris quem nos librum Troiaminis a primis auctoribus Trojaniis appellemus: a quibus principio ad Italos postea ad Britannos inde ad Germanos exercitatio illa equestris translata est; de qua alii scripserunt prolixius, et liber est in manibus."

9th century is equally inconceivable. The parti-coloured shields of the Germans and the tunics of the Gauls correspond precisely with the oldest European blazoury, viz., paly, bendy, barry, chequy, etc. Which then is the more probable solution of the question,—That the nobles of the 10th or of the 12th century should have *de novo* adopted such peculiar, simple, and unmeaning marks of distinction, or that they inherited them through successive centuries from their German and Gallic ancestors? Guizot has shown in his “Civilization in Europe” that the *Roman* laws, institutions, arts, manners, and customs did not expire with the extinction of the Empire, but were incorporated by all the nations who succeeded them, and are perpetuated to the present day. Why then should we suppose a *break* of centuries in a usage prevalent with all warlike tribes from the earliest period; if devices on banners and shields are known in detail to have prevailed in Europe from the 12th century downwards, why should the practice in existence at the Christian era have been suspended for several centuries and then, without any new or adequate cause, have been resumed?

Both as an independent study of great interest, and as supplementary and auxiliary to the preceding enquiries as to the evidence of the existence of armorial bearings in Europe from the 5th to the 11th centuries, it will be desirable now to produce the testimony chiefly of Anglo-Saxon coins in favour of the antiquity and genuineness of some of the reputed arms of the Heptarchy. These are stigmatized by recent writers on Heraldry as “fictitious arms and the inventions of the heralds.”

We will first notice the “White Horse of Kent.” The horse is met with on coins of Egbert and Ethelbert as also on sceattas.* It appears likewise on coins of the Northumbrian kings.

As the horse is also found on British coins, *primâ facie* it would seem that this was an arbitrary device and had no reference to persons or families. Dr. Donaldson in

* Ruding, vol. iii. Plate iii. fig. 3 and 7.

* paper on "English Ethnography" in the *Cambridge Essays* (1856) remarks:—

The names Hengist and Horsa are two synonyms, one signifies a Horse in High German, the other is the Anglian or Low German name for the same animal. * * The White Horse was the ensign of the invaders. The Frisians call it their Hengist, and the Anglians their Horsa.

We thus get rid of the mythical brothers, and a real Saxon chieftain named after the ensign of his race or family occupies his undoubted though often questioned place in history.

Mr. Freeman in an article on "The Mythical and Romantic Elements in English History" in the *Fortnightly Review* for May 1866 observes:—

Nennius like our own chronicles confines Hengest to Kent, but he makes two chieftains of his house Octa and Ebissa conquer and settle far to the North on the confines of the Picts. In the chronicles, the accession of Ida the Angle to the Northumbrian crown is recorded. Ida though the founder of the subsequent Northumbrian kingdom was not however the first Teutonic settler in that part of Britain.

These facts, if the writers are correct in their statements, would account for the occurrence of the Horse on the Northumbrian as well as on the Kentish Coins, and show the transmission of a family device from an ancestor to a descendant. And the occurrence of the Horse on the coins of Ethelbert King of Kent, is the best confirmation of the popular story of the ensign borne on the banner of Horsa.*

* The baronetical Kentish family of Dering, descended from Dering son of Sired, mentioned in the Domesday for Kent as a Saxon proprietor, has borne for centuries the ensign of the county as crest and supporters. The will of John Deryng 4 Hen. VI. is sealed with a saltire for arms and a *horse statant on a royal crown* for crest; as is also a deed of Richard Dering Esq. dated 20 Edw. IV., whilst a seal of Sir Richard Dering, Knt. of the date of 22 Rich. II. has for supporters *two horses sejant* (Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5481).

On some Sceattas of the Kentish Monarchs we find the figure of

A raven appears on a coin of Anlaf King of Northumberland. This device was worked on the enchanted Danish standard mentioned in Asser's Life of Alfred.* Two ravens Mind and Memory go forth throughout the world; then returning and perching on Odin's shoulders reveal to him all that passes on the earth. Amulets have been found in Sweden and Denmark where a raven flies before a mounted figure of Odin.†

The Standard of Wessex, the historians tell us, in the 8th century was a Dragon. Now Baldwin Earl of Devon who died 1155 bore a Griffin on his seal. These two fabulous monsters according as fancy may represent them are sufficiently alike. Baldwin's two sons and his grandson all Earls of Devon also exhibited the griffin on their seals. As another heraldic bearing is attributed to their family name De Redvers or Riviers, the griffin might not improbably have been assumed by them in their territorial capacity as Earls of Devon, and so assumed as the ancient ensign of the Kingdom of Wessex of which Devonshire formed a part.

The arms of the South Saxons are said to have been *gules 6 martlets or*, the use of which is at present confined to the county of Sussex. As no coins have been found of the South-Saxon Kings we are unable to test their identity by the means which they might afford. But there is a collateral fact which may be thought to countenance the authenticity of these bearings. The ancient family of Arundel mentioned in Domesday with the territorial prefix *de*, bore in the 12th century the canting coat of 6 swallows, which they have since continued to use. The derivation of their name from Arundel in Sussex is scarcely doubtful. This was the *caput Baronie* of the greatest of the Sussex Barons, the powerful Earls of Montgomery and Shrewsbury. What then is more probable than that martlets or swallows were the county

a swan. We have Swanscombe in Kent, and a family of the name of Swan of Kentish origin, whose coat of arms consists of the figure of the stately bird.

* Ruding i. 122.

† Yonge's *Christian Names*, ii. 280.

ensigns and adopted by a family who were not improbably descended from the lords of Arundel?*

The arms of the East Saxons, said to have been borne by Sebert or Sybert one of their kings, were 3 seaxes or falchions, which are the bearings of the family of Seaber. The Saxons are said to have derived their name from *Seaxe* a dagger. The Scythians worshipped their tutelary deity the God of War under the symbol of an iron scimitar.† A Scimitar is annually worshipped by the chivalry of Mewar in Hindostan. A sword or dagger is a prevalent charge in Polish blazonry.

Mr. Lower in his *Curiosities of Heraldry* (appendix) says "The arms of the County of Cornwall are *sable* 15 *bezants* 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1. This coat is pretended to be derived from Cadoc or Cradock Earl or Duke of Cornwall in the 5th century." And he states that on the marriage of Roger Valetorte with Joan daughter of Reginald de Dunstanville (natural son of King Henry I., created Earl of Cornwall 1140) he surrounded his paternal arms (argent three bendlets gules) with a *bordure sable bezantée*. Henry II. took the earldom into his own hands, and gave it to his youngest son John, and John on coming to the throne gave it to his second son Richard, afterwards King of the Romans and Earl of Poitou. He bore argent a lion rampant gules crowned or within a *bordure sable bezantée*. He had, says Nisbet, nothing of his father's royal ensigns, his arms being composed of his two noble feus, and which were on his seal of arms

* It may be objected that if de Arundel bore originally 6 martlets or swallows, the Earls of Montgomery, or in fact of Sussex, whose *caput baroniæ* was first at Chichester, the capital of the Regni and of Sussex, and subsequently at Arundel, would also have borne the martlets as the insignia of their Earldom, whatever their family arms were. But as we have no early seals of theirs, no evidence of this kind is obtainable on the point. The name of Arundel too it may be said would alone account for the swallows in the coat of De Arundel as canting arms; but it would not furnish *armes parlantes* to a Saxon people, at least of swallows, afterwards of martlets. If the 6 martlets were the ancient arms of the South Saxons, they were probably got in the same way and from a similar source as the 4 martlets on the coins of Edward the Confessor.

† Gibbon, vi. 43.

appended to instruments A.D. 1226. And Mr. Lower proceeds to give a numerous list of Cornish families who bore *sable bezantée* in their arms. The usage thus recited shows the bezants to have constituted the bearings of the County as early as the close of the 12th century, which is the period alleged to have *given birth* to heraldry. Yet there could have been then no prescriptive use of the bezants more than of any other charges; they must therefore have been of higher antiquity, whether or not they may have been borne by any Duke or Earl in the 5th century.

The arms of the East Angles are said to have been 3 *crowns*, and they are to be found on fonts and in old stained glass in churches in Suffolk.* The arms of St. Edmund, their patron Saint are said to have been the same, with the addition of two arrows piercing each crown saltier-wise. The arms of *azure three crowns or* (for St. Edmund) along with *azure a cross patonce and five martlets or* (for Edward the Confessor) and *argent a cross gules* (for St. George) were anciently depicted in stained glass in St. Stephen's Chapel.† The 3 crowns here have been supposed by some to be the cognizance of King Arthur, and are so described by Sandford in his Genealogical History (p. 270) where, speaking of a great seal of Henry V. a cut of which he has inserted (p. 239) he affirms that two figures thereon in niches are those of Edward the Confessor and King Arthur, whose arms are there represented, as are also those of St. George.‡

On a seal of Edward III affixed to a deed dated 1st March 30 Edw. III and comprising a grant and surrender from the Warden and College of the Free Chapel of St. George of Windsor, to King Edward himself, of the Manor of Old Windsor, which they held for the life of Oliver de Bordeaux, Edward himself is represented kneel-

* *Azure 3 crowns or* are in the west window of Haughley church. On the font are sculptured 3 crowns between the 2 in chief an arrow point downwards. Three Crowns are the arms of Scandinavia or Sweden.

† Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

‡ Ibid. p. 237.

ing to a figure of St. George, in the habit of a soldier with a cross in his shield, and round the seal are three shields of arms. One of them at bottom contains those of England and France, another on one side those of Edward the Confessor* and the third shield on the opposite side *three crowns*.† These were thus the traditional arms of St. Edmund as early as Edward the third, and probably earlier.

The arms of Edward the Confessor above blazoned were placed in Westminster Abbey with others in the time of Henry III. These are said by existing heraldic writers to have been taken from the coins of that monarch, on which are represented a cross between four doves or ravens, which also appear on coins of King Stephen. Now these writers contend that arms *first came into use* at the end of the 12th century. In the middle of the next, arms are placed in a public edifice as those of a monarch who lived two centuries previously. Would so glaring an anachronism be perpetrated before the eyes of those who, or their fathers at least, must according to the theory advanced have witnessed or remembered the origin of the practice? It would be as absurd as for a painter of the present day to attempt to impose on the ignorance of the public by representing Charles the first in the costume of George the third. Again, how could the heralds of Henry the third have known that such bearings were on the coins of the Confessor? It is hardly likely that any of his coins were

* Froissart describing the banner of the Confessor as borne by Richard II on his expedition to Ireland thus blazons it,—*Une croiz potencée d'or et de geules a quatre colombs blanc au champ de l'escu.*

† Lysons' *Antiquities of Berkshire*, p. 424, where the seal is engraved.

Richard II, anno 10, advanced Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford to the dignity of Duke of Ireland, and by letters patent granted him the kingdom and sovereignty of Ireland, with permission to bear for his arms *azure 3 crowns or within a bordure argent*, before his own coat. Rex concessit Roberto de Vere facto Marchioni de Dublin quod ipse quamdiu viverit et terram et dominium de Hibernie habuerit, gerat arma de azureo cum tribus coronis aureis et una circumferentia vel bordura de argento. 1 Pars Pat. an. 9 Ric. II., as cited by Sandford, p. 178.

then in circulation, two hundred years subsequently; and it cannot be imagined that there were numismatists at that early period.

But the source of the device on the coins of the Confessor is evidently a strikingly similar one, used by one of the cohorts in the 5th century, the Constantiani, which might also have been impressed on coins. We have evidence that the types of the Roman coinage were used by the Britons and the Saxons. On Coins of Cunobelin we meet with the winged figure of Victory. The Pegasus and Centaur are found on British coins. On a Coin of Ethelbert II King of Kent (568-615) we find the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. The same device is also on Anglo Saxon sceattæ, and is clearly copied from a common coin of Constantine (Hawkins*), and there was probably an intermediate use of the cross and 4 birds before the time of the Confessor, though no such specimens have been discovered.

This brings us to consider generally the question of the Anglo Saxon coinage as affecting the sources of many heraldic bearings.

The types of these coins are infinitely various. The plain cross on all or most of them is said to have been for the purpose of dividing the coin into four parts, though Col. Leake† denies this. The pellets so generally occurring in the corners, seem to have been handed down from

* "The Saxons long subsequent to their settlement in Britain do not appear to have had any coinage of their own; and it would seem that for two centuries they chiefly used the Roman money with that of France, as well as personal ornaments adapted to answer the purposes of stamped money."—*Journ. of Arch. Assoc.*

† The dots which so frequently occur upon them render it not improbable that they have some meaning beyond being ornamental.—Art. "On Anglo-Saxon Coins found at Hexham;" *Archæologia* vol. 25.

The pellets, triangles, and devices apparently ornaments only upon our early coins may have been symbolical, at least in the primary use of them. * * It is well known that our Anglo-Saxon patterns were originally borrowed from the coins of the declining Empire, to be seen in Bandurin. As to the cross and pellets, the former may be traced to the brass money of Constantine Junior (when Cæsar) and his successors, and as a token of Christianity, occurs on the reverse of a gold coin of Olybius.—Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities* Art. Numismatics.

the time of the Romans, on whose coins they are met with, and they are probably of the same significance originally as found on the shields of the Greek warriors, and were the heraldic symbols of those families who constituted the *triumviri monetales* before spoken of, and who impressed their own marks on the coins they issued. These pellets are found in various, no doubt intentional and systematic combinations, not the capricious invention of the moneyers, but an appropriation of ancient and prescriptive types. But the most remarkable types are various thoroughly heraldic forms of the cross alone, and along with crescents and other symbols.* Whether any of these were used on banners and shields by the kings on whose coins they appear we have no means of knowing; but these coins from the seventh to the eleventh century display not only many of the constituent elements of heraldry, or rather actual heraldic charges, but as complete coats of arms as are found in the 14th century, and many of them exactly resembling them.

The arms of the kingdom of Mercia are said to be a Saltire: the authority for this goes back to the time of Henry the Third. In a MS. Life of Offa by Mathew Paris, who lived in that reign and died 1259, and supposed to have been written with his own hand (Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS. Nero Di.) are drawings of several objects and of coats of arms. *Argent a Saltire or* is depicted on a flag and also on a shield as the bearing of Offa.† The same remarks made just now in reference to the anachronism

* The early Christians used to paint an anchor, fish, ship, and dove, but never a human form. There can be little doubt that the symbols of the first Christians laid the foundation of many now incomprehensible devices upon mediæval coins. * * Whatever meaning therefore the devices might have had originally *in se* we conclude that the meaning was lost in the times of the Norman kings and Plantagenets. We presume nevertheless that many of them originally had a general symbolical meaning, and for this reason because they are not peculiar to any country.—Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, Art. Numismatics, p. 994.

† Other arms given are,—on a coat of mail, semée of hammers or, and a shield of the same; another, a Saltire between 4 bezants; another, a lion rampant; another, on the housings of the horse a cross flory pelletée, on the shield a plain cross flory within a bordure engrailed.

of placing the arms of the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, if heraldry in his time was unknown, will apply to the attribution made by Mathew Paris. Mathew gives in the MS. just cited, and also in his History edited by Sir F. Madden, and published by the Master of the Rolls, the arms of several contemporary nobles and sovereigns, which as tested by other evidence, he blazons with perfect accuracy. Therefore, as in the great majority of cases, where we can verify his blazonry, we find him trustworthy, we are bound to believe him in others, at least that he neither had recourse to invention or deceit. We are justified in believing that these attributed bearings of Offa, and in his History, of the lion rampant for Harold, and 3 lions passant for William the Conqueror, were considered at the time he lived, as respectively the arms borne by them: and the further inference is justly deducible, that from such attributions, heraldry could not then have been regarded as an *invention* of only two generations previously. Whether or not the Conqueror bore the 3 lions passant, it is clear that Mathew Paris looked on the then royal arms as of equal antiquity with the Norman conquest.

According to the logic of many writers, and of most heraldic ones, we are to believe only what we see and know; to draw no inferences, to indulge in no theories. So that but for the cross of St. George being repeatedly observed on the Bayeux tapestry we should have no earlier evidence of its presence in England than the seal of Edward III before mentioned. But if the cross of St. George was known at the Conquest, and probably long before, why may we not believe in the emblems of St. Edmund, St. Oswald and others as then in existence? *

We will now conclude this inquiry by offering some

* In the Wardrobe accounts of Edward *the First*, payments were made "Domino Willielmo de Felton pro quinque vexillis Regis portandis in guerre Scocie anno presenti, videlicet duobus vexillis de armis Anglie, tercio vexillo de armis Sancti Georgii, quarto de armis Sancti Edmundi, et quinque de armis Sancti Edwardi." There is another entry of payment "Domino Willielmo de Gretham monacho Dunelm. sequenti Regem cum vexillo Sancti Cuthberti in guerra Scocie anno presenti."—Grose's *Military Antiquities*, ii. 52.

general reasons why it is highly probable armorial bearings were in use by the Anglo-Saxon kings and nobles in England, from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, and notice the contrary opinion.

1. The practice of the Roman legions in this respect, like many other customs, could not fail to excite the observation of the early Saxon Invaders, and to engender imitation.

2. The various peoples who successively settled in England, descended from the ancient Germans or Cymbri, who we have seen had their ensigns, can scarcely be supposed to have discontinued this habit of their ancestors. The white horse of the Saxons, and the Raven of the Danes show in two cases that they did not.

3. We meet with frequent mention of Banners amongst the Saxons. These must have had emblems of some sort embroidered on them, and were doubtless reproduced on the shields of the leaders in warfare.

4. The *Leges Hastiludiales* of Henry the Fowler in 938, we have seen, required the combatants in Tournaments to prove the bearing in their families for at least four generations of gentilitial ensigns. This practice thus prevailing for a century must have been known in England, through the intercourse with the German and French courts, especially during the reigns of Offa, king of Mercia, and Alfred the Great; and it is not improbable that Tournaments were introduced into England, and the display therefore of armorial bearings must have become more general, if limited before.

5. The Bayeux Tapestry representing the Battle of Hastings exhibits the Saxon warriors equally with the Normans as having devices on their shields. But as will be presently explained in detail, we are not hereby furnished with distinct notions of what they were, as the same devices are frequently given to both sides; and it would seem that no attempt at identification was made, or that the bearings of any particular persons or families were intended to be depicted.

Mr. Lower in his work before quoted, at p. 18 has the following remarks:—

"Speed and other historians give the arms of a long line of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish monarchs of England up to the period of the Norman Conquest; but we search in vain for contemporary evidence that armorial distinctions were then known. The MSS. of those early times which have descended to us are rich in illustrations of costume, but no representation of these 'ensigns of honour' occurs in any one of them."

As to the argument of the absence of "contemporary evidence," what is its value in Archæology? It is at best but negative. Of the Literature and Monumental remains of the remote Past, we know that only scattered fragments and scanty ruins have escaped the ravages of time; if therefore in these we find no trace or vestige of a particular usage or custom, that circumstance is not conclusive against its existence. But if in the full and complete Records and Narratives of the present and recent periods, we find no mention of a common custom or every-day occurrence, we rightly infer its non-existence. We read of no railways or steamboats in the last century, and we know that they did not then exist. The legal maxim *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio* is unsound *per se*, though wise as regulating the admissibility of evidence in the serious questions affecting life and property. It is wholly out of place and inapplicable in archæological discussions.

The Institution of the Order of the Garter by Edward III., and the existence of the Badge of the Black Prince are accepted facts, and we should expect to find some contemporary notice of the former amongst State Records, and of the latter in some Heraldic document: yet we fail to do so, and as Sir Harris Nicolas observes* "It is a most remarkable fact that the only contemporary evidence of the institution of the Order of the Garter is to be found in a tailor's account; and that the only contemporary notice of the Prince of Wales's badge should occur in a memorandum on a treatise on Hemorrhoids."

Even in full and professed Treatises on particular subjects in the present day we look in vain for informa-

* Archæologia vol. 32 p. 333.

tion on matters that are intimately even essentially connected with them. Grose's work on *Military Antiquities* gives an historical account of the English army, yet contains not the slightest notice of its Standards and the Colours of its Regiments. *The Encyclopædia Britannica* contains a very full and elaborate treatise on the Armies of all ages, and countries, but is totally silent on the banners and ensigns of any one of them.

Other analogies will show the absence of contemporary evidence to be of no logical value. No coins of the Welch princes are known to exist, although their exclusive right to coin money is mentioned in Welch Laws. No coins of the South Saxons have been met with. We have no seal or contemporary proof that Henry the Second had a coat of arms; though we have that his brother, other relatives, and many of the nobles and knights of his time displayed armorial bearings. On the seal of Edward III. we find for the first time on a royal seal the helmet surmounted by a crest, the lion statant guardant, yet on the seals of Edmund Crouchback Earl of Lancaster, and on those of some few others, crests will be found to have been represented some forty years anterior.* The royal arms were not placed on coins till the time of Edward III., two hundred years nearly after they are found on seals. Of what value then after these and such instances are positive conclusions from negative evidence? What is the force of an argument derived from hypothetical notions of the sources of testimony—from mere conjectures as to where we ought to look for it, and expect to find it?

With respect to the absence of armorial ensigns in the illuminated MSS. of the period,† much of the fore-

* Willement's Regal Heraldry.

† Mr. Westwood's magnificent work *The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* contains fac-similes of beautiful illuminations from the 7th to the 10th century. "The various styles of ornament," employed in them, Mr. Westwood says, "were practised throughout Great Britain and Ireland from the 4th or 5th to the 10th or 11th centuries, and as they appear in their purest and most elaborate forms in those parts where the old Celtic races longest prevailed, we have not hesitated to give the Celtic as their generic name. * * * The chief peculiarities of the Celtic ornamen-

going reasoning will be applicable, but the most conclusive argument as to the value of this particular species of negative evidence is afforded by the fact that heraldic shields are rarely met with in the abundant illuminated MSS. we possess of the most flourishing periods of Heraldry. We have initial letters of great beauty, floral ornaments and patterns, pictures of saints and religious subjects; but very few coats of arms, and those chiefly

tation consist first, in the entire absence of foliage or other phyllo-morphic or vegetable ornament,—the classical acanthus thus being entirely ignored; and secondly, in the extreme intricacy and excessive minuteness and elaboration of the various patterns, mostly geometrical, consisting of interlaced ribbon work, diagonal or spiral lines, and strange monstrous animals and birds, with long top-knots, tongues and tails, intertwining in almost endless knots."

This being the character of the ornamentation of the period, we should seek in vain for any but the most casual illustration of costume, arts, or customs. But notwithstanding, in one plate (xliv.) from a MS. of the 10th century, we find in an apparently religious subject, three persons carrying banners that have a sacred aspect, and in plate xlvii., A.D. 966, there are four oval figures that seem to have an heraldic appearance. (These appear amongst the illustrations of this work); whilst *heraldic patterns* of a simple character are introduced and mixed with the ornamentation in most of the plates. Thus (plate iv.) in a MS. of the 7th century St. Matthew is exhibited in a robe of a chequy pattern, or and gules, with hose of the same, and the lion of St. Mark is covered with a lozengy pattern or and vert. In another MS. of the same date (plate v.) the eagle of St. Luke exhibits a mascally pattern. Plate ix. is a facsimile of a MS. of the same date, which exhibits the symbols of the four Evangelists. The winged bull is dotted all over with three red balls, and three lavender balls, triangular wise, on a green ground. On the other symbols we see on the wings the chevron pattern, the mascally pattern, and the peacock's tail pattern. In a MS. of the same date as the preceding, on a narrow border are exhibited small figures of the mascally, lozengy, and paly patterns, and one with a single bar. Plate xxiii. is from a MS. of the 8th or 9th century, where the four symbols of the Evangelists are depicted; their bodies are all of one pattern, viz. *semée* of circles, a dot in the centre of each. Plate xxviii. represents the Crucifixion. The soldier with the spear, and the attendant lifting the sponge, have their robes decorated with paly and pellety patterns. We have seen in a preceding chapter that ancient ornamentation was in general fixed and significant, and not arbitrary and fanciful. These heraldic patterns there is therefore no doubt had a special meaning, and were probably the bearings of the patrons of the works of art on which they are exhibited.

of some eminent person pourtrayed, or of the owner of the MS. The tastes of the age did not choose this mode of heraldic display, nor intend in this manner to convey information to posterity. It was a question of fashion; just as it was at one time to embroider dresses, tapestry, bed-hangings, etc., with coats of arms, and at another time to fill the windows of private houses with heraldic stained glass, both of which customs have gone out, whilst new modes of armorial display have succeeded them.*

It is true there is a battle-scene of Saxon times represented in a MS. (Cotton MSS. Claud. B iv.) figured in the *Pictorial History of England* (i. 333) where there are four circular shields exhibited, all alike, having no device: and other illuminations represent them painted with red and blue borders, with the ground and centre generally white. But in these cases we have merely the shields of the common soldiers, who it cannot be supposed had any device either personal or corporate; that practice being confined apparently to the Roman army. But we shall see hereafter, as we have before, that plain shields or with only a coloured border, co-existed with shields having emblems, the latter of course being confined to the heads of the different divisions of the army.

We have now to consider the light thrown upon our enquiries by that venerable and remarkable memorial, the well-known Bayeux tapestry. Various opinions have been formed as to its age, and by whom and where it was executed;† but although they differ, its embroidered

* In the *Archæologia* (vol. xxi.) is given an engraving of a contemporary picture of the Battle of Barnet, which exhibits only two banners, one with a rose, and the other with the royal arms; whilst the combatants have no heraldic insignia whatever, and this was at a period when their display in warfare was profuse.

† In Bogue's English Edition of *Thierry's Norman Conquest* (Hazlitt's Translation) vol. i, p. 410, is a letter from the distinguished historian on this celebrated piece of needlework. "The tradition," he says, "which assigned to Queen Matilda the execution of the piece of tapestry preserved at Bayeux, a tradition in itself quite recent, and thoroughly refuted by M. De la Rue, is now no longer admitted by any one." And he thus sums up his opinion on

pictures are generally accepted as faithful representations of the great event it commemorates, the incidents preceding and characterizing it, and of the costumes and military appointments of the time.

A coloured fac-simile of this historical Tapestry has been published in folio plates by the Society of Antiquaries in their *Monumenta Vetusta*, and it has also been more recently engraved on a reduced scale, with explanatory chapters, by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, the learned historian of the Roman Wall. I propose to make use of this latter work in analyzing the various pictures of the Tapestry with a view to a more definite and critical estimate of the heraldic information afforded by it, than as far as I am aware has yet been made.

Plate II. The four knights who captured Harold by order of Guy, Count of Ponthieu, have four shields; on two is a dragon, on another a cross, and the other exhibits a bordure invecked.

Plate III. Two messengers (*nuntii*) of William, on horseback, bearing shields with dragons.

Plate IV. *Willielmus Dux Normannorum* attended by a knight on horseback with a dragon on a shield, and two others with plain shields bordured. In another place William is attended by guards, the foremost of whom bears a shield with a cross, and others behind, plain shields bordured.

Plate V. A warrior on horseback of William's party, has a shield with a saltire; another, a cross patée.

"The banner of the Norman army is invariably *argent a cross or* [*? gules*] *in a bordure azure*. This is repeated over and over again. We meet with it in the war against Conan, as well as at Pevensey and Hastings."

"In the Tapestry, Harold's standard is a dragon.

the controversies on the subject, "I think with the majority of the Saxons, who have written on the Bayeux tapestry, that it is contemporaneous with the great event it represents; I think with Mr. Bolton Corney, that it was executed at the order and cost of the Chapter of Bayeux, and I add, as a conjecture of my own, that it was manufactured in England, and by English workers, according to a design transmitted from Bayeux."

Wace does not describe it, but says his gonfanon was a noble one, sparkling with gems and precious stones."

Plate VI. Conan surrendering the keys of Dinan to William's chiefs, who are on horseback, with shields; the foremost has a cross patée, the other two a cross *ut ante*, gules on a white field, perhaps the cross of St. George so often appearing. In Plate IX it is so exhibited; in other plates the colours are different.

Plate XIII. Under *Iste nunciat Haroldum regem de exercitu Wilhelmi ducis*. Here the scout of the Saxon army has a shield bezantée, whilst Harold, to whom he is bringing news, has a shield almost exactly similar, both kite-shaped.

Plate XV. Three Saxons on foot with lances and shields; five roundels on the latter saltier-wise.

Plate XVI. Normans with shields bezantée. Four Saxons on foot with a cross *ut ante*, fighting a Norman with a dragon on his shield. Harold himself has a cross on his shield.

Plate XVI. "Harold, first of all, appears standing by his standard (the dragon) contending with a horseman, who is making a rush at him as at Dinan," where two of the combatants have each a shield with a saltire.

Plate XIX. Saxons on foot resisting attack of cavalry of Normans; of the former, the two foremost bear a cross *ut ante*; others, bezantée kite-shaped shields. Also Saxons on foot with circular bucklers, a bordure bezantée, fighting with Normans on horseback, having bezantée shields.

What then does this examination show? Simply a confused armorial display. We have an indiscriminate mixture of kite-shaped and circular shields borne by both sides; and the same devices are found on the shields of Normans and Saxons. A dragon as a standard is placed by the side of Harold, and we meet with dragons on the shields of William's messengers (Plate III.) and on those of the knights of the Count of Ponthieu (Plate II.) It is evident that no attempt was made, except perhaps in a few cases, to assign to the various principal personages in the composition the arms borne by them (probably

from ignorance), and that the designer was ignorant of what were the peculiar ensigns of the Saxons, but acquainted from general observation, or perhaps special instruction with the prevailing characteristics of Norman heraldry, and delineated specimens in accordance with such general knowledge. And such vague, and perhaps fanciful representations, are often inevitable where there is no special knowledge obtainable; or the subject does not admit of its application. The sculptures on Trajan's column, where the shields of the soldiers are represented as covered with devices, probably do not convey representations of the *actual emblems* of any cohort.* One thing is pretty certain, that if armorial bearings were not then painted on shields and banners we should not see them exhibited on this piece of Tapestry. But the great question arises, do these shields indicate the existence at the period of a system of Heraldry such as prevailed a century or more subsequently? For this most writers deny. We will proceed then to the discussion of this question.

Mr. C. Stothard, in an explanatory letter in the *Archæologia* (xix. 188), designed to accompany the Illustrations which were executed by him, observes:—

* An exemplification of the views in the text is afforded by representations of the murder of Thomas à Becket. In Fowler's folio work, *Engravings from Stained Glass*, is given a fac-simile of this subject from a window in the North aisle of the cathedral church of Christ Church, Oxford. In Carter's *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, a fac-simile is given of a representation of the subject in question in a painting on a board in Canterbury Cathedral. And in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* (x.) is given an engraving of another discovered in 1853 at St. John's Church, Winchester, by F. J. Baigent, Esq. In all these three cases the shields of the four knights are differently portrayed (as may be seen from the accompanying plate), erroneous knowledge or tradition, and fancy having evidently been the sources of the blazonry of the respective artists.

In the *Herald and Genealogist* for January 1868 (pp. 51-61), an article of mine on "Fanciful and Imaginary Armory," discusses these heraldic displays by artists, and the question whether armorial bearings in England were arbitrarily assumed during the 14th and 15th centuries.

The figures on horseback bear on their shields various devices, but none which may be properly termed heraldic. Neither here nor in any other part of the Tapestry, is a lion, fess, chevron, or other heraldic figure to be found; they are almost entirely confined to dragons, crosses, and spots [roundels]. Nor do we find any particular or distinguished person twice bearing the same device. The pennons attached to the lances of the Normans are similarly ornamented, with this exception, that they bear no animals.

But a much more recent writer* errs perhaps on the opposite side when he says that the Bayeux Tapestry "exhibits a complete display of the military ensigns in use at the period of the conquest, by both the Norman invaders, and the Saxon occupants of this island."

The reason given by Mr. Stothard for regarding these devices as not "properly termed heraldic" is singular. Because in these *specimens* of the usage of the time, we don't find the lion, fess, or chevron, therefore the essence of heraldry is wanting. What would be thought of applying such a test to the heraldry of different countries? What would be thought if the Spaniards stigmatized English Heraldry as spurious, because in certain partial examples of it, as a roll of arms, or the armorial blazonry of a Cathedral, the rabbit and fig-leaf as charges were wanting, which are so abundant in their own country? What if the Germans so denounced it because the horse would not be met with, a device so common in their own coats of arms? But after all, the Bayeux Tapestry *does* exhibit a considerable variety of heraldic forms, as the accompanying plate will at once testify. Who would expect to find in such a memorial all the charges and symbols given in a professed treatise on the subject?

Mr. Planché, one of the most determined opponents of the antiquity of Heraldry, thus expresses himself on this subject:—

"Devices of rude execution and capricious assumption were undoubtedly in use amongst the Normans, as we find not only by their shields in the Bayeux Tapestry, but by the Anglo-Norman poet Wace, who intimates that the fashion was peculiar to them."†

* *Heraldry Historical and Popular*, by Rev. C. Boutell, 1864, page 3.

† *Pursuivant at Arms*, ed. 1852, page 16.

The words used by Wace are

"E tuit ovent fet cogoissances
Ki Norman alter conust
El ke l' autre *portuer neust*."

There is nothing here about arms being "peculiar to the Normans." Mr. Planché further remarks "Had regular armorial bearings been at that period (temp. Henry II.) in existence he (Wace) could scarcely have refrained from alluding to their derivation from the barbarous devices of the Norman invaders." The very contrary of Mr. Planché's supposition is far more probable. Were these devices *new*, Wace was likely to have said so. When an author speaks of a custom without comment or explanation, the presumption is that it is *not* new. And the facts mentioned by Wace that these cognizances were to distinguish the bearers from one another, and that one man dared not use another's, are evidence of systematic and regulated use, as opposed to "capricious assumption."

The devices Mr. Planché describes as "crosses, rings, grotesque monsters, and fanciful devices of various descriptions, but nothing approaching a regular heraldic figure or disposition of figures." But on the banners or pennons of which there are 37, we find barry, paly, roundels, cinquefoils and crosses.* Surely *these* are "regular heraldic figures." It seems with Mr. Planché and the school which he represents, a fatal objection to the drawings of the Bayeux tapestry, that they are rude and grotesque. But why should rudeness of execution invalidate the reality and identity of the thing intended? A rudely executed lion or griffin of 1066 is as much "a regular heraldic bearing" as the same thing on a seal of 1166.† Most of the admitted early heraldic seals are

* See an article by Mr. French on the Banners of the Bayeux Tapestry in vol. 13 of the *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, with numerous engravings.

† What should we think of a book printed by Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde being refused the designation of "a regular printed book" or a "printed book truly so called"? Mr. Planché and his followers deny the existence of "heraldry truly so called" till we

extremely rudely done; so much so that in many cases it is difficult to tell what kind of animal is meant to be represented: but this is merely an indication of the low state of art at the time, perhaps no more advanced than in the time of the ancient Gauls and Germans, who we have seen wore figures of birds and beasts on their helmets.

It will be desirable now to see what other memorials there may be, or passages in the Literature of the time, to corroborate the views which we have maintained as to the existence of Heraldry at the period of the Conquest.

Sir Frederick Madden in an excellent article in the *Archæologia* (vol. 24) "On the Ancient Chessmen found in the Isle of Lewis" enters into the question under discussion somewhat at length, and his instructive observations deserve to be quoted. He remarks:—

The shields of the knights and warders are highly curious as presenting to us a series of devices (the immediate precursors of hereditary armorial bearings) in greater variety than is to be found on any other existing monuments. From the very earliest period, the Gothic nations were accustomed to paint their shields of various colours (Tacitus de Mor. Ger. cap. 6); and from the Romans they might easily have learnt to adopt different insignia. From some passages in the *Voluspa*, *Saxo*, and *Egil's Saga*, it has been assumed by many of the Northern antiquaries, that the ancient Scandinavians adorned their shields with representations of their exploits; but Sperlingius, in his collections on the subject, argues strongly against it, and affirms that before the 12th century no trace of any devices on shields is to be found among them. The fact of colours, however, and even of gilding, is admitted, and the usual pigments employed were red or white. In *Sæmund's* poetical *Edda* mention is made of a red shield with a golden border, and the encomiast of Queen Emma, in describing Canute's armament, when sailing to invade England, speaks of the glittering effulgence of the shields suspended on the sides of the ships (*Erant ibi scutorum tot genera ut crederes adesse omnium populorum agmina*, etc.) At the period of the first Crusade, it was certainly customary to ornament shields very highly. Robert of Aix, who was himself present, thus describes the European knights: "They are clothed in iron, their shields are resplendent with gold, gems, and colours, and their helms

have abundant examples of its devices on shields, and till art had improved its representations. According to this reasoning Printing was an art which could not be said to have dated its origin from the 15th century.

emit rays like sunbeams" (*variisque coloribus depicti*). * * * Snorre says many of King Olaf's soldiers carried white shields distinguished by crosses of gold, or of colours red and blue. * * * The era of the general adoption of armorial bearings in Europe is fixed with sufficient exactness at the end of the 12th century, but the existence of certain distinctive figures or badges is unquestionably to be referred to an earlier period. The shields on the Bayeux Tapestry exhibit not only crosses, but a species of dragon, and on the seal of Robert the Frisian, Earl of Flanders, attached to a deed dated 1072, is represented a lion rampant. There is a passage also in the Nial Saga written at the commencement of the 12th century, which expressly notices the insignia adopted by Kari son of Solomon, a native of the Hebrides, and Helgo son of Nial, about A.D. 998. "Skarphedin" says the writer "went first clad in a kirtle of blue, and bearing a shield of the kind called "targe," and an axe on his shoulder. He was followed by Helgo, who wore a helmet, and a red tunic, and carried a purple shield, on which was depicted a stag. Next came Kari, dressed in a silken tunic, with a gilded helmet, and a shield bearing the figure of a lion on it."

Mr. Planché (p. 7) gives a quotation from Anna Comnena (1081-1118) showing that shields were then of polished metal; and states that "Robert of Aix who was present at the first Crusade (1096-1101), though he speaks of the shields being resplendent with gold, and gems, and painted of various colours, makes no mention of heraldic devices." We don't however expect of poets and chroniclers, literal and minute descriptions, but simply characteristics and sketches.* Shields geometrically divided, and of "various colours" would correspond with the bearings of most of the Crusaders, according to their blazon in the *Salle des Croisés* at Versailles, and as gold was a prevalent colour of the shield or surface of the shield, the description in general terms

* Geoffrey de Vinsauf in his Itinerary of Richard I. speaks of "shields emblazoned with lions or flying dragons in gold" as borne by the Crusaders. This according to Mr. Planché's construction, would imply that there were no silver shields, nor any devices *but* lions and dragons. Again, John of Salisbury, who wrote temp. Hen. II., speaking of the English knights, remarks that they "gild their shields," an expression that according to Mr. Planché's reading would exclude heraldic devices. But this was at a period when they were certainly borne on shields. The expression would more correctly be interpreted to mean that their shields glitter with gold (and silver) in various forms.

would be correct of both the above writers. Two instances in point may be mentioned : 1. Wace in the *Roman de Rou* speaking of Harold's standard, says his gonfanon was a noble one, sparkling with gems and precious stones. He omits the incident of the device with which it was charged, which we learn from the Bayeux Tapestry, where we find the standard of a dragon by his side. 2. The siege of Caerlaverock, A.D. 1300, has been related in verse by some unknown poet, the main characteristics of which are the names of the principal warriors engaged, their qualities, and their coats of arms. We incidentally get much knowledge of heraldic usage in this poem, as for instance, that two knights bore precisely the same bearings, "at which many marvelled," it being a distinctive feature in heraldry, as noticed by Wace, that no two persons should display identical devices (at least without some distinguishing adjunct of colour or charge) yet throughout the poem there is no mention of any of the coats being hereditary. But we happen to have abundance of other evidence at this time that such was the case. Had we not, however, according to Mr. Planché's logic, we should come to the conclusion that this quality did not exist, though other logicians would consider the matter as undetermined. Such is the fallacy of drawing positive inferences from imperfect descriptions, and that do not necessarily give "the whole truth."

Before proceeding further we may cite a passage quoted by Sandford in his *Genealogical History* (p. 2) from the *Gesta Willielmi Ducis Normanniæ* (p. 113) that implies the existence of armorial bearings at the time of the Conqueror. We are told "qualem equum in pretio sit habiturus, quale scutum et qualem vestitum * * * equum vicissim Domini sui præsignat vestitum et arma." Here the words "quale scutum" can hardly refer to the form of the shield, but must mean the device, depicted on it, though the word "arma" may mean weapons.

The sepulchral monuments of the 14th and subse-

quent centuries were generally, and often richly, embellished with heraldic shields, though in early times and except on dress, deficient in any written inscription. As a general rule memorials of the dead previous to the 14th century were without any device or sculpture, except of an effigy or cross of some form.* If therefore on most of these, no trace of armorial bearings is to be found, even after their proved general use, still less should we expect to find any vestiges on earlier monuments, or consider their absence as affording any argument either way. Yet as we shall see presently, there are exceptional cases; and there is one on record as early as 1010. This is the monument of Valmond Count of Vasserburg in the Church of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, on which is a shield of *coupé per fess argent and sable*, over all *a lion*, with the words "Anno Domini MX." Of this tomb M. de Menestrier says there is good reason to believe that it was restored some time after his death by the monks of the abbey which he had endowed. This of course is possible, but as a suggestion to damage important evidence is of little value, in presence of the facts already produced, testifying to the existence of heraldic bearings at this period.

* Examples of sepulchral crosses in the 11th and 12th centuries in England are rare; there are a few in Yorkshire. But in Ireland monumental crosses of the 6th and 7th centuries are found; and nearly all are accompanied with inscriptions. (Art. on Grave Stones in *Archæological Journal*, iv. 56.)

There was an inscription on the coffin-plate of Gunilda sister of Harold the Second. (*Archæologia*, vol. 25.) The coffin found in the ruins of Lewes Priory contained the remains of William de Warren, and Gundrada his wife, daughter of William the Conqueror, and was inscribed "Gundrada" and "Willelm." See Journ. of Archæol. Assoc. i. 347.

CHAPTER IX.

ARMORIAL SEALS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES; WITH ILLUSTRATIVE PEDIGREES OF BARONIAL FAMILIES.

M. DE COURCELLES, the learned continuator of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, gives the following early instances of heraldic seals: *

"On a le contrat de mariage de Sanche, infant de Castille, avec Guillemine, fille de Centule Gaston II., vicomte de Béarn, de l'an 1038, de l'ère d'Espagne (1000 de Jésus-Christ) au bas duquel il y avait sept sceaux apposés, dont deux se sont conservés entiers. Le premier représente un écu, sur lequel on voit *un levrier*; le second est un écu tranché par des *barres transversales*. M. de Villaret qui nous a transmis l'examen de ces sceaux, prétend qu'on peut certainement reconnaître dans le second les figures employées dans le blason moderne. Il en eût pu dire autant du premier, qui pouvait bien être le sceau de Gracie-Arnaud, Comte d'Aure et de Magnoac, lequel vivait dans le même temps, et dont les descendants ont toujours porté un levrier dans leurs armes. Deux sceaux d'Adelbert, duc et marquis de Lorraine, apposés à deux chartes des années 1030 et 1037, de l'ère vulgaire, représentent un écu chargé d'une aigle au vol abaissé.

Un diplôme de Raymond de Saint-Gilles, de l'an 1088, est scellé *d'une croix vidée, clechée et pometée*, telle que l'ont toujours portée depuis, les Comtes de Toulouse. L'historien du Languedoc avait pensé que c'était le plus ancien monument héraldique.

Le sceau de Thierrî II Comte de Bar-le-Duc, et de Montbéliard, de Mouson, et de Ferrette, mis au bas d'un acte de l'an 1093, représente *deux bars adossés*.

Renaud I., dit le Borgne, qui possédait les mêmes comtés y ajouta *les semées de croisettes fichées*.

* Quoted in M. Pautet's *Manuel du Blason*, 12mo., p. 70.

Au bas d'une charte de Hugues II, duc de Bourgogne, de l'an 1102, paraît un sceau, où ce prince est représenté à cheval, tenant une lance sur l'épaule, et son bouclier *bandé de six pièces*, avec une bordure. On sait que ses descendants ont toujours porté les mêmes armoiries.

Raoul I, Seigneur de Beaugency, qui suivit Godefroy de Bouillon à la Conquête de la Terre-Sainte en 1096, restitua l'an 1104, l'église de Saint-Firmin aux religieuses de cet abbaye, en présence du concile de Beaugency : à cet acte est apposé son sceau, représentant *un écu échiqueté avec une fasces*.

A un acte de la même année 1104, est suspendu le sceau de Simon de Broyes et de Beaufort, représentant *trois broyes ouvertes l'une sur l'autre*.

Le sceau de Guiraud de Simiane, mis à deux actes des années 1118 et 1120, représente *un écu chargé d'un béliar*."

Four of these early examples Mr. Montagu, in his *Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, quotes ; but, without gainsaying them, hesitates to believe in their genuineness. As M. de Courcelles concludes his list with some seals* of the family of Soligné to which he gives the date of 1130, but which according to M. Lobineau, are a century later, Mr. Montagu's misgivings are certainly not without reason, though it does not follow if errors of date are chargeable in some instances that they are in all. M. de Courcelles concludes with these words :

"Le moine de Marmoutier qui a écrit l'histoire de Geoffroy, Comte d'Anjou, l'an 1100, parle du blason comme d'un usage établi depuis longtemps dans les familles illustres."

The well known work of Uredius, *Sigilla Comitum Flandriæ*, supplies an early instance of an heraldic seal ;† that however, it is presumed because it is an early specimen, and conflicts with a cherished theory, has been considered to be an anachronism, if not a fabrication. M. Pautet, before quoted, speaks of it as follows : "Le Père Mabillon cite d'après Olivier de Urée un sceau de

* These are given in a subsequent page from M. Lobineau's work.

† The first seal given is that of Ernulphus Comes Flandriæ, 941, being an old man sitting in a chair, with a shield, on which traces appear of some marks. The seal of Earl Baldwin, 1067, represents the shield averted. Three seals of Robert junior have also the shields averted. So it is in the seal of Earl Baldwin 1119 : and also in that of Wm. Count of Flanders, son of Robert Duke of Normandy.

Robert I. Comte de Flandres, attaché à une charte de 1072, sur lequel Robert est représenté à cheval, tenant l'épée d'une main, et de l'autre un écu sur lequel est *un lion* [rampant]: *et hic primus est ajoute-t-il Comitum Flandrensium qui symbolum gentilitium præferebat.*" This seal Mr. Planché, in his work *Heraldry founded on Facts*, perhaps for the above reason, passes over entirely, and says of the next which occurs in the work, the seal of Philip I. Count of Flanders of 1164, that "it is the earliest unquestionable example in the Collection of Uredius, on which the lion appears as an heraldic bearing." This seal is further interesting, as the helmet of the warrior exhibits a crest, viz. *a demi lion rampant*.

In the *Preuves* (p. 71) of the *Origine de la Maison de Sohier* (fol. Leyden, 1671) is given a charter of Walter de Sohier, dated 1111, the seal attached to which contains the figure of a warrior on horseback, a *MULLET of 5 points* appearing on his shield, on the housings of the horse, as also on the *secretum*.

In Gale's *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* is engraved amongst other seals, one attached to a charter of Stephen Earl of Richmond, who died 1137; the shield and the surcoat of the Earl are powdered with *FLEURS DE LIS*: this is perhaps the earliest known instance of this device, it not being found on the seals of the Kings of France anterior to the time of Louis VII. *circa* 1150. Stephen was also Comte de Pentièvre, and his wife Comtesse de Guinchamp, and the fleur de lis was probably the ensign of one of these dignities. No early instance (i. e. before the 13th century) of the Ermine, the coat of the Dukes of Brittany, is met with, but that it was their original bearing is probable from this circumstance. In Lobi-neau's *Histoire de Bretagne*, amongst many other seals, is given one of Geoffry de Chateaubriant, 1217, of a man on horseback, both being covered with *PEACOCK'S TAILS*, as also the shield, and the shield of the counter seal. There is also a seal of the same person of the date 1199, containing no charge, but on the counterseal is a *peacock's tail*. This as thus represented resembles some drawings of Ermine, and might have been the origin of

it. Briant was brother of Stephen aforesaid, and was progenitor of the Comtes de Chateaubriand. On the counter seal of "Eon fils du Comte" 1231, are *three peacock's tails*.

Mr. Planché states, on the authority of Uredius, where however it is not to be found, that the Countess of Boulogne, wife of Stephen King of England, bore *three ROUNDELS* or *torteaux*; of the king himself he says "We have no memorial to indicate what arms he displayed, although it is probable that heraldry advanced considerably during the reign of that chivalrous sovereign."

A notable instance occurs at this period, viz. the reign of Stephen, in the seal of Gilbert de Clare, the first Earl of Pembroke, who died 1148, which is engraved in Mr. Planché's work, where it is represented as a number of bars parallel with the top of the shield, only half of the latter being visible. Now in the sketch in Lansd. MSS. 203, these stripes are *not* drawn parallel with the shield, but in the form that chevrons would assume when seen on half only of its surface. Even if the MS. copy should have been unfaithfully rendered, we have fortunately a case that assists us to form a judgment of what is intended, and thus destroys the inference Mr. Planché draws, that the father (Gilbert) bore Barry, and the son (Richard) CHEVRONNY. In Uredius's work (p. 23) there is engraven a seal of Baldwin Earl of Flanders and Hainault, of the date 1192, containing 3 bars nearly parallel with the top of the shield, only half being visible; but on the *secretum*, is a warrior on horseback, and on his shield 2 unmistakeable chevrons. Here the engraver seems to have made a double mistake, for not long after, viz. 1211, occurs another seal of the "Comes Hainæ" on which are displayed clearly three CHEVRONS, doubtless the original and true charge. The seal of Richard the son and heir of Gilbert de Clare, and who died 1176, contains *three* CHEVRONS (*vide Journ. of Arch. Assoc.* x. 266.)

Another seal temp. Stephen, that will next engage our notice, along with two others of the same family, in the same century, is calculated to give us some insight as to

the *variations* of armorial bearings at this period, and establishes their hereditary character. Mr. Wiffen, in his *Memoirs of the Early Russells*, p. 75 says "I have in my possession a fine seal in green wax of Roger de Conyers of the time of King Stephen, with the device of a MAUNCHE in bold relief, surrounded by *seven cross crosslets the hand holding a spear-head or a fleur de lis*, around which is the legend "Sigillum Rogeri de Conneris." This was evidently the Roger de Conyers who in Mr. Surtees' pedigree (Hist. of Durham, iii. 247) is stated to have been a Baron of the Bishoprick of Durham, and living 1143-74. In M. D'Anisy's Atlas of Seals of the 12th century, is one of William de Cosneres, viz. *an arm in a SLEEVE holding a fleur de lis*, the crosslet being omitted; and another of Thomas de Cosneris, viz. *an arm in a SLEEVE, on the sleeve 2 cross crosslets, and 4 in the field*, the fleur de lis being omitted here. These two persons do not occur in Mr. Surtees' pedigree.

A seal of Richard de Lucy, attached to a deed, and drawn in Lansd. MSS. 203, displays a *large FISH* in fess. The witnesses are Eustach. fil Regis (qui ob. 1153) Godefridus de Lucy, Reginald his brother, etc.* A confirmation of these *armes parlantes* occurs in the seal of Fulbert de Dovor c. 1180, being CHEQUY, *over all a FISH or luce in pale*. Fulbert married the daughter and heiress of Geoffry de Lucy.

Sandford (p. 47) quotes a Charter of Ranulph EARL OF CHESTER, who died 1155, on the seal of which is a LION *rampant* on a shield. He married Maud, daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, the King's natural son, whom Mr. Planché supposes to have been the source of this bearing.

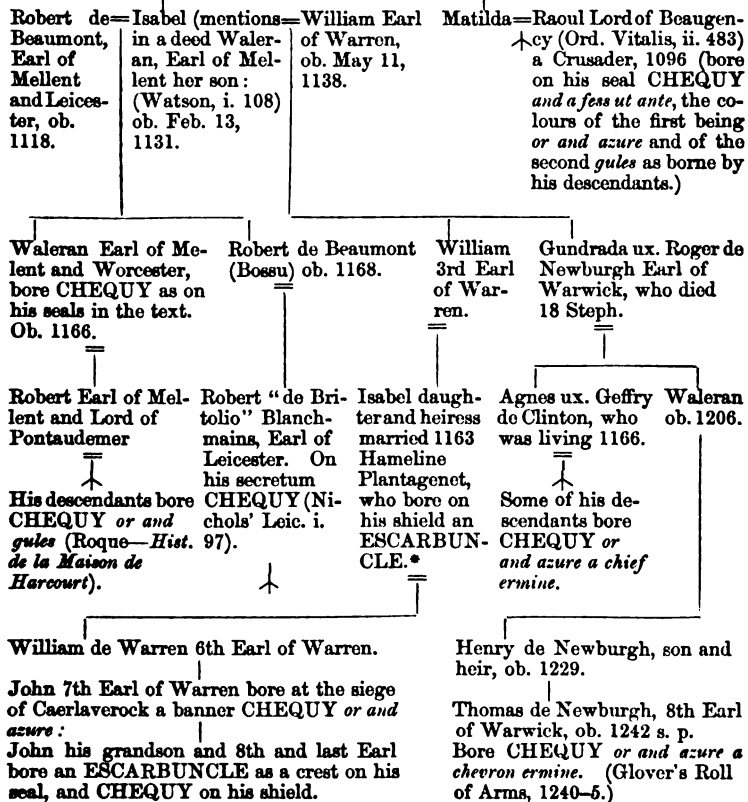
One of the most important seals of this period is that of Waleran EARL OF MELLENT, containing a shield CHEQUY;† because by unimpeachable reasoning based

* Engraven in *Archæologia Cantiana*, iv. 214.

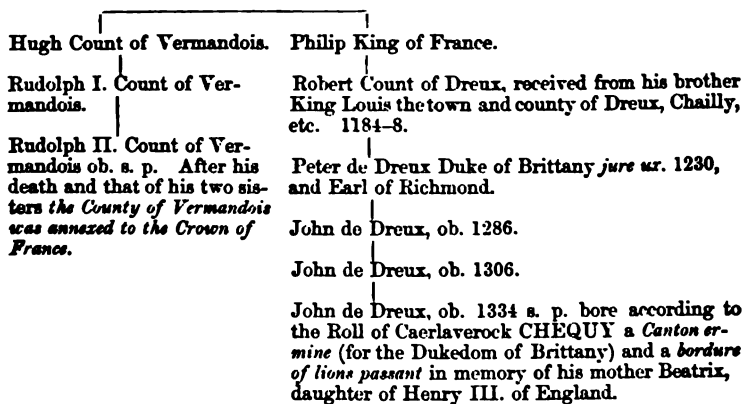
† There are two seals of his: one sketched in Lansd. MSS. 203 as that of "Waleran Comes Mellent" chequy being on his shield and surcoat: another engraved in Watson's *Earls of Surrey* with the legend "Waleranni Comitis Wigornie" with chequy on his banner only.

on a well-proven pedigree, it can be traced up to the Conquest on the one hand, and on the other, downwards through several families, thus showing by an instructive example, *how and why* certain ensigns were assumed at an early period. The following tabular pedigree will show this in detail, and proves, as in many other instances, that it was customary to take the arms of the wife, though no heiress, if of superior rank; and the high honour in which this chequy coat was held is evidenced by its being adopted by families themselves of no mean rank.

Hugh the Great, Earl of Vermandois, = *Adelheid*, daughter and heiress of Her-
jure ux. brother of Philip King of France. | bert, Count of Vermandois.



* The escarbuncle was put up as the arms of his father Geffry Count of Anjou on the cornice of the tomb of Queen Elizabeth in Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey (Sandford's Genealogical Hist. p. 34).



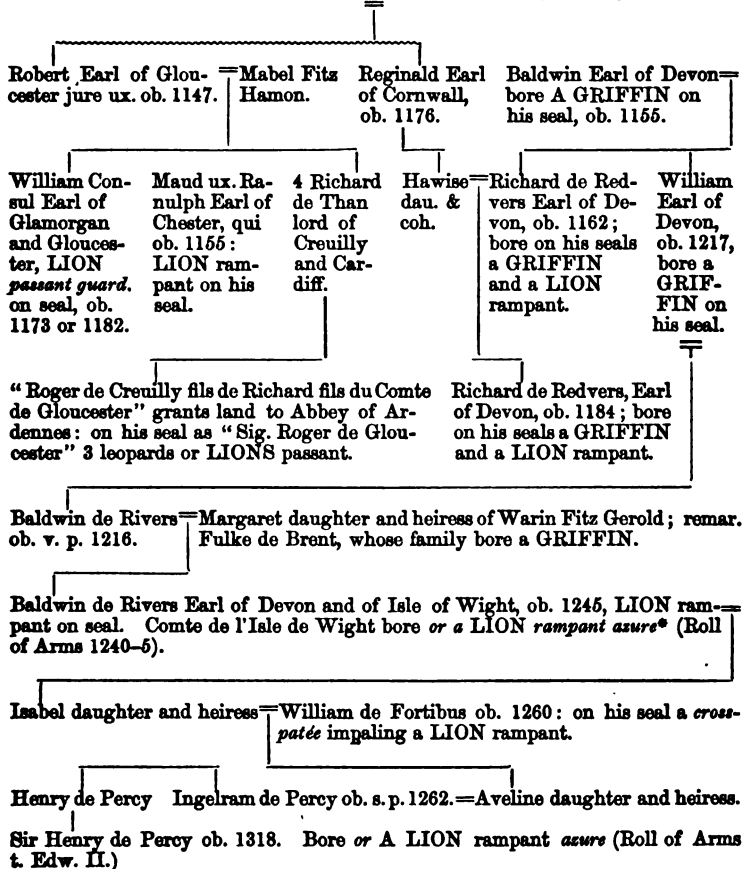
Though no chequy or other armorial seal of the Warrens is to be met with in the 12th century, Mr. Planché in this case relaxes his rigorous rule of distrusting any coat of arms for which there is no contemporary authority, by granting that "probabilities are certainly in favour of it (the chequy) having been assumed by the Warrens in consequence of that alliance" (viz. Vermandois) (p. 61). This implies that Hugh the Great, living at the Conquest, bore that coat, and moreover that he got it, as well as his title, from his father-in-law. And the seal of Raoul de Beaugency is "confirmation strong" of this necessary inference. Mr. Montagu, in his work before quoted, assigns to Hugh the Great the coat of *chequy with a chief of fleurs de lis*. The preceding table shows the tenacity of the families who took the chequy bearing to the colours blue and gold, differencing their arms with divers brizures: the only exception appears in the case of the descendants of the Earl of Mellent, who took the colours gold and red, and made no other difference.

On the tower of Harpley church, co. Norfolk, (engraved in *Records of the House of Gournay*) is a shield CHEQUY over all a large CRESCENT charged with 3 *cingfoils*. Reginald son of William de Warren and Isabel Vermandois had a son William lord of Wormgay, who died 1208, and whose daughter and heiress married Drouyn BAR-DOLPH, who may be considered the bearer of the above shield, combining his paternal *cingfoils*, with the arms of

Warren, and with the cognizance (the crescent) of perhaps the house of Wormgay,—a triple union of bearings of a somewhat unique character at this early era.

The following pedigree embodies further instances of armorial seals during the 12th century, and exemplifies the same principle of adoption, as in the case of the device of chequy just treated :—

Henry I. bore A LION as a badge ante 1127 (Planché).



Mr. Planché admits that the lion here may be traced

* These arms occur in the Roll of Edw. II. as those of the Earl of Devon amongst the "Armes abatues."

up to the time of Henry I. before 1127 which he calls his "belige or armbrache." He does not give any engraving of this belige, nor state where it is to be met with, but it is to be presumed it is of a lion passant on a roundel like William of Gloucester's. Ranulph Earl of Chester's lion rampant was doubtless from the same source as that of his brother-in-law William of Gloucester, and so evidently was the lion rampant of the Earls of Devon. That the difference of posture of the lion was owing to the form of the seal, there can be no doubt. On a seal of William Earl of Arundel, A.D. 1170, a lion *rampant* is seen on his shield, but on his *secreta*, which is circular, a lion *passant* is delineated, and not placed on a shield. And such variations are seen even in the 13th century. This variation of attitude is clearly an act of the seal engraver, and does not justify, in the case of the absence of the shield, the designation simply of a badge or cognizance, as opposed to and something different from a "regular heraldic bearing." The same observation applies to the griffins, which as we see were borne successively by three generations of the De Rivers; and are as essentially hereditary family emblems as the chequy of De Warren or the maunche of Conyers. But the best proof that whether an heraldic emblem is placed on a circular seal or on a shield, its character as such is unaffected, is afforded by the remarkable seal of Roger of Gloucester, grandson of the king's son and Mabel, which contains 3 lions or leopards passant, not on a shield, but in the area of a circular seal.* (*Vide Plate.*)

Another well-known case of the bearing of the royal lion, but in the plural number, occurs on the celebrated monument of Geffry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, in the church of St. Julien at Mans (engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*) where his shield exhibits 6 *golden lions or leopards rampant on an azure field*. The monk of Marmoutier, writing of his marriage with Matilda daughter of Henry I., thus speaks of these armorial bearings: "Clypeus leunculos aureos imaginarios habens collo ejus suspenditur;" and subsequently describing a

* D'Anisy—*Atlas des Sceaux*.

combat of this prince, "pictos leones præferens in clypeo, veris leonibus nulla erat inferior fortitudo."* This coat, being identical with that borne by the family of Longespée, is generally considered its original, as William Longespée, on whose monument it is found was grandson of this same Geoffrey. But this notion Mr. Planché controverts in a paper on the subject in the 1st vol. of the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, on grounds however that do not seem very satisfactory; and he considers the bearings in question to be the ensigns of the old Earls of Salisbury, whose heiress Ela, William Longespée married. There seem some reasons however for this latter position which did not occur to Mr. Planché but which I will state.

The 6 lions rampant on the seal of DE BOHUN Earl of Hereford are said to be the lions of Salisbury, i. e. of the Longespées Earls of Salisbury. But the relationship of the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford to them, was very distant being that of fourth or fifth cousins. Such a derivation, therefore, is out of the question; as quite out of the pale within which arms from collateral sources are supposed to have been adopted. But that they were taken on the marriage of Humphrey de Bohun with the daughter of Edward of Salisbury, the Domesday progenitor of Ela, there can be little doubt, for there seems no other match that could have originated them. These 6 lions then must have been borne by Edward of Salisbury at the Conquest, and that they were is confirmed by the fact that Sir Roger de Leyburne bore 6 lioncels (according to the roll of Hen. III. 1240-5) who was great grandson of Philip de Leyburne, who married Amy sister and coh. of Ralph Fitz Gerold, who though not found in the pedigree was doubtless a member of the house of Fitz Gerold, descended from Girolld Dapifer, brother or uncle of Edward of Salisbury. According to the full pedigree of Longespée in Bowles' and Nichols' "Lacock Abbey," there is no match of Leyburne with any lady of that family. Therefore we must seek elsewhere for their 6 lions; and that they were adopted as

* Menestrier—*Origine des Armoiries.*

early as the match with Amy Fitz-Gerold seems probable, because several other Kentish families in the Roll of Edw. II. bear them, who, there are reasons for thinking, got them through the Leyburnes.

Mr. Planché justly remarks that a great heiress like Ela of Salisbury would, in conformity with the general practice, require her armorial ensigns to be borne by her husband; and though that husband was of royal blood, it is probable in the case before us, that he did so. And there was a similar and contemporary case in point, in that of Hamelin Plantagenet, a natural son of Geoffry of Anjou, and therefore brother of Henry II., who probably himself, and certainly his male descendants, bore the chequy coat of Warren on marriage of the heiress of the Earls of that name. Still there seems to be strong and almost insurmountable evidence that the monument at Mans is that of Geoffry Count of Anjou; the word "princeps" occurring in the inscription over it could apply only to him, and the "leunculos aureos" of the monk of Marmoutier before quoted are expressly mentioned as being on his shield. It appears at present until the subject can be elucidated by new sources of information, to exhibit a remarkable case of coincidence without being one of identity.

The following abridged pedigree will assist in the comprehension of the genealogy of the subject, and embodies the blazon of the seals of various persons mentioned in it:—

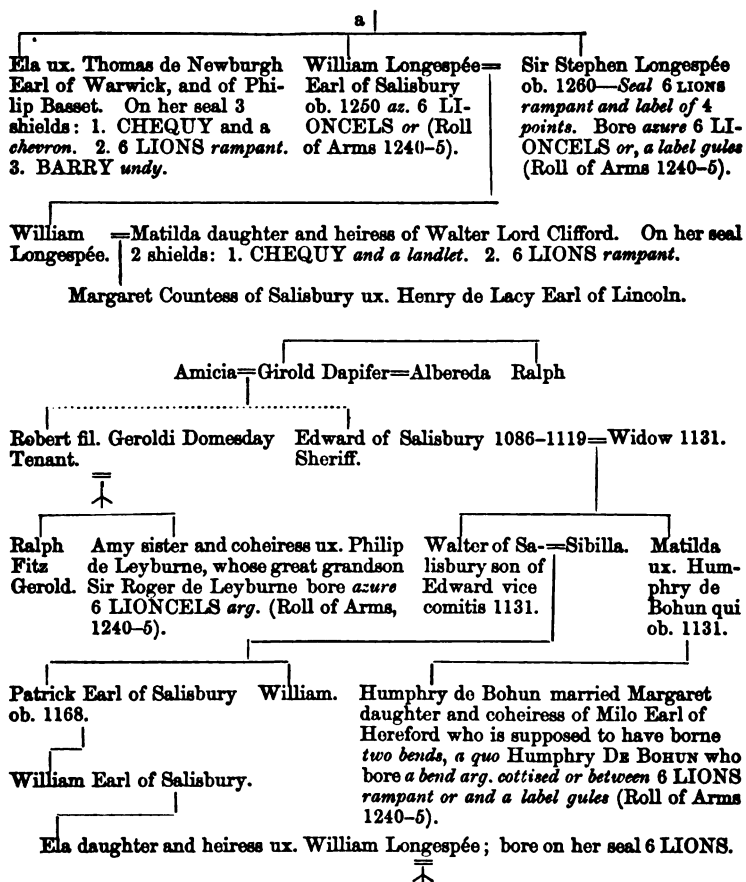
Geoffrey Plantagenet Count of Anjou ob. 1151: bore "golden lions" and <i>azure</i> 6 LIONCELS or on his Tomb at Mans.	=	Matilda daughter of Henry I. mar. 1122, ob. 1167.
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Willielmus frater Regis H. Angliæ in a charter to Rogero de Hamton a pincerno meo seals with a LION RAMPANT on a shield. (Glover's Charters: Harl. MSS. 245, p. 154.)

Henry II. King of England, Earl of Anjou ob. 1189. No arms on his seals. =

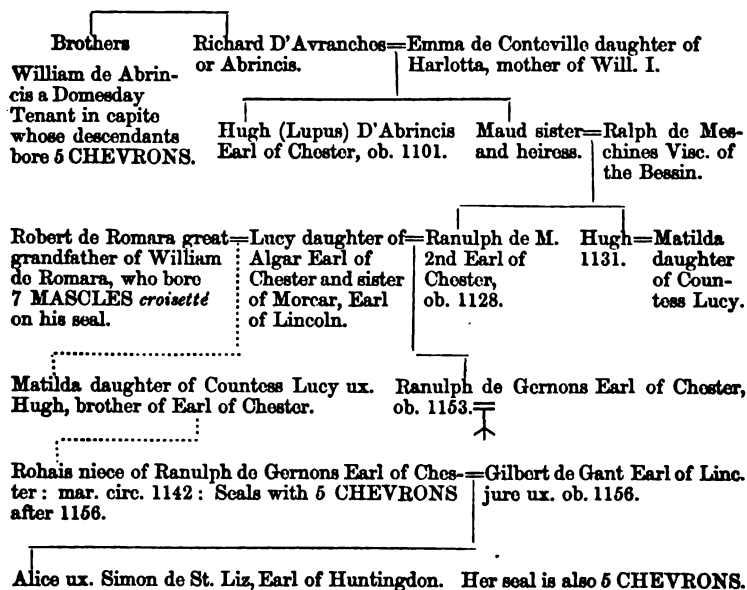
Hamelin Plantagenet jure ux. Earl of Warren and Surrey: on a shield on his seal, an ESCARBUNCLE.

William Longespée Earl of Salisbury, ob. 1226; left several sons. On his seal 6 LIONS rampant, also on his effigy in Salisbury Cathedral.	=	Ela daughter and heiress of William Earl of Salisbury, born 1188, mar. 1198. Abbess of Lacock 1240, ob. 1261. On her seal 6 LIONS rampant.
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In the *Topographer and Genealogist* (part iv.) there is an armorial seal, which traced to a probable origin, is calculated to elucidate some genealogical difficulties, and to account for the adoption of some similar bearings. This is the CHEVRONY coat of Rohais, the COUNTESS OF LINCOLN whose parentage remains undiscovered. We have already had sufficient proofs that arms even in the 12th century were not a matter of "capricious assumption." This device therefore of the Countess may be safely presumed to have belonged to some near relative or to have been the ensign of the dignity with which she was invested. That however it appertained to the

ancient earldom of Lincoln there seems no reason to suppose. But if we assume (in case it is not yet considered established) that arms were borne at the Conquest, the subjoined table* will show, consistently with what we have already found to have been the practice, that if Hugh Lupus bore chevrons, and Ralph who married his sister and heir adopted her arms, Hugh her son would likewise bear them; and on the supposition (which is not only allowable, but most readily satisfies the requirement of the case, viz. to show that Rohais was niece of Ranulph the Earl, son of Lucy) that the said Hugh was father of Rohais, then the seal of the latter is accounted for, and her parentage ascertained. And this theory is further supported by the fact of the baronial family of Abrincis bearing 5 chevrons.



There are two shields of arms that may be here mentioned, which although not found on seals are derived

* The authorities for it are Ormerod, *Miscellanea Palatina*, App. p. 9; Collect. Top. and Gen. vii. 381, viii. 156; Topog. and Gen.: D'Anisy, *Recherches sur le Domesday*, etc.

from equal authority. Gulielmus Brito, author of the Latin poem on the exploits of Philip Augustus called the "Phillipeis" (book iii.) describes Richard Cœur de Lion while Count of Poitou as being recognized by his antagonist, William de Barr, by the "lions grinning on his shield;" and also the SWALLOWS borne by an ancestor of the family of ARUNDEL, and which his descendants have since borne.

Ecce comes Pictavus, agro nos provocat, ecce,
 Nos ad bella vocat; rictus agnosco *Leonum*.
Illius in clypeo * * * * *
 * * * *Hirundele* velocior alite, quæ
 Dat hoc agnomen ei, fert *cujus in egide signum.**

Another of the few instances in which armorial bearings are mentioned in books of this period occurs in *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who in his account of the Conquest of Ireland (p. 278 Bohn's ed.) says John de Courcy bore on his shield the blazon of *Three birds*. This is an incidental allusion like the foregoing, and nothing is said of its being an exceptional practice. At p. 274 of the same work the author says "Fitz Adelm seeing Raymond surrounded by so gallant a band and beholding Meylor and his other brothers and kinsmen to the number of thirty, mounted on noble steeds in bright armour, and *all having the same device on their shields, etc.*" Meyler was son of Henry, an illegitimate son of Henry I., and he and his kinsmen probably bore the royal lion on their shields in different tinctures and with differences: the substantial fact of the same charge being borne by all justifying the description of the writer as the "same device."

The following are from Du Chesne's *Histoire de la Maison de Guisnes*" (fol. Paris, 1631):

P. 101. VAIRE and a bendlet: legend, "Sigill. Willi fr̄is Comit̄is de Guisnes."

P. 225. A charter of 1164 of Theodoric de Alost has a seal, a man on horseback, on his shield a *bordure* and a CHIEF, being the arms of Gand. At p. 496, date 1231, a chief occurs on a seal of De Housdain.

* Pictorial Hist. of England, i. 641.

Du Bouchet in his *Histoire de la Maison de Courtenay* gives the following early seals:—

“Preuves,” P. 14 (1210) Peter Comes Antisiodensis: a shield with 3 *Torteaux* or ROUNDELS, on an escutcheon of pretence 6 *fleurs de lis*. On another 1199, 3 *Roundels only*. P. 26 (1208) Robertus de Cortiniaco, *no arms on shield*. P. 31 (1231) the same, on a shield, 3 *roundels and a label of 5 points*.

But the most interesting and abundant collection of early seals remains yet to be examined. This is contained in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* in a thin atlas,* and is accompanied by two volumes of a catalogue of the charters to which they were found attached. The following are of the 12th century:

Nigel de Molbrai: an equestrian figure, on the shield, a rude approximation to the *escarbuncle*, but as it resembles the figures on so many shields of the period, it is probably intended to represent the external appearance or construction of the shield supposed to have given rise to the heraldic *escarbuncle*, and somewhat resembling, but not so ornamental, the ornamented fastenings on the shield of Geoffry of Anjou as engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

Richard de Humetto: *semée of* MULLETES.

Hugo de Garcesale: 2 or 3 CHEVRONS.

“Sigillum Willielmi filii Johannis,” not equestrian, a large seal, on a shield, 3 BENDS, between each a *bendlet wavy*.

“Sigill. Matthew de Beaumio:” not equestrian, 5 CHEVRONS.

Robert de Gouviz: VAIRE, a *bendlet*.†

“Sigill. Hugonis Garini:” a BEND (not bendlet) between 3 *shells*, one in sinister chief, 2 in dexter base.

“Sigill. Radulfi de Perteville:” a BEND, on either side a *cingfoil* and a *key*.

* By M. D'Anisy, the learned author of *Recherches sur le Domesday*.

† To a charter s. d. of Brian de Gouviz, dominus de Kingsdon, is attached a similar seal, viz. *vairé, a bend lozengy* (Coll. Top. and Gen. vii. 324.)

Robert de Ners : *BARRY* of 6, 3 bars charged respectively with 6, 5, & 3 spindles.

Sigill. William de Bukloth : a *LION rampant*.

Sigill. William de Lambertville : 3 *LIONS rampant*.

Sigill. William Bacon : 6 *ROSES*, 3, 2, 1.

Sigill. Roberti L'Angevin : a *LION rampant*.

The following are of the 12th or 13th century :—

Sig. Johanne de Hosa : on a roundel, a *LEG coupé at the thigh*, with a spur on the foot.

Agnes fille de Michel de Fontenay : a roundel, a *LION passant regardant*, in sinister chief, a *boar's head*.

Sig. Jeanne dame de Carouges : *GYRONNY* of 8 on a shield.

Sig. d'Adèle L'Arbalistière : a *CROSSBOW* on a roundel.

Contrescel of Mathilde de Creverville : 13 *ANNULETS* on a shield, 4, 4, 3, 2.

The following are of the 13th century, and are here given chiefly on account of their peculiarity :—

Simon de Pellevé : equestrian, on a shield, *Semée of QUATREFOILS*.

Robert de Longvillers : equestrian, apparently a *PALE* on a shield. Some of the shields of the equestrian figures at this period are quite plain ; amongst them those of Robert Marmion and Hugh Gurnay.

William de Courcy : equestrian, on shield and housings, *FRETTY*, also on counter-seal.

Ivo de Vieuxpont : equestrian, 9 *ANNULETS*, 3, 3, 2, 1, on seal and counterseal.

Henri Maréchal, seigneur de Say : equestrian, on a shield a *CROSS MOLINE debriused by a baton sinister* : the same on the secretum.

Jean de Harecurt : equestrian, on a shield, also on the secretum, 2 *BARS*.

Robert de Tancarville : equestrian, on a shield, an *ESCUTCHEON and an orle of SEXFOILS* ; also on the secretum.

Jean Mallet : equestrian, on a shield 3 *BUCKLES* ; also on the secretum.

Robert de Fraines : 3 *T*.

Olivier de Lyre : a roundel, on a shield, *LOZENGY* and a *label of 5 points*.

The following are all roundels, some containing a shield:—

Roger de Hyesmes: LION *rampant*.

Philip de Longueville: STAG *passant to the sinister*.

Jean de Lacele: a CRESCENT on a shield with a narrow *bordure*.

Mathew de Hyesmes: an EAGLE.

Herbert de la Porta: 3 BARS.

Maurice de Caen: on an oval, a HORSE *trotting*.

William de Sallenelles: a CHIEF (or *per fesse*) *dancette*.

Raoul de Giberville: the whole shield covered with a *large* LABEL of 5 points of unequal length, the centre being the longest.

Jeffry Jugouf: a CHEVRON.

Robert de Tessell: 2 LIONS *passant* to sinister.

Robert Hareng: a HERRING in fess.

Adam de St. Silvain: a BEND *vaire* between 4 *escallops*, 2 and 2; secretum, a HORSE *passant*.

Robert de St. Martin: a LION or leopard *passant* to the sinister.

Jean de Brucourt: 4 BARS, between them 10 fleurs de lis, 3 and 2 alternately.

Roger de Fresnay: 3 BARS, between them, 6 *roundels*, 3, 2, 1.

Roger Marmion: a *flower*.

Richard Bacun: 4 BARS on a shield.

Sir Fulke D'Aunay: a FESS between 4 EAGLES, 2 and 2.

Roger de Rupera: 12 MARTLETS in 12 *quarters*.

Jean de Giroune, chevalier: a FESS between 4 *roundels* 3 and 1.

Jeffry de Brucourt, miles: 3 FLEURS DE LIS and a *label* of 3 *points* on a shield.

Robert D'Ailly: LOZENGY, a *chief*.

Nicholas de St. Germain: 2 LABELS of 5 points one above the other.

William de Molines: a CROSS MOLINE.

Renaud Malherbe: 6 QUATREFOILS, 3, 2, and 1.

Engerrand de Humeto: 3 BARS between 6 *roundels* 3, 2, and 1.

Richard de Longvillers: a PALE on a shield.

Richard de Courcy, chevalier : 6 BILLETS, 3, 2, and 1.

Robert de Bray, knt. : PALY of 6 on a *chief*, a *lion passant*.

William de Rupibus, seneschal of Angers : a BEND *lozengy* and a *label*.

Raoul de Tancarville : AN ESCUTCHEON *and an orle of SEXFOILS*.

Some of the above are most anomalous coats, and yet occur at a period when it is admitted that the science of heraldry was fully established. From what we know of English armory in this century, there certainly appears more uniformity and regularity than amongst the Normans after the separation from England : some of the anomalies are perhaps due to the artists, but that they were not confined to Normandy will be seen by the ensuing catalogue, which is taken from the numerous plates of seals at the end of Lobineau's *Histoire de Bretagne* (2 vols. fol. 1707.)

Juhel de Mayenne, seigneur de Dinan, 1197 : on 6 ESCUTCHEONS 6 MULLET *mullets pierced of 6 points*.

Dreu de Mellot, 1197 : 2 BARS and 3 *martlets*.*

Pierre de Bain, 1199 : LOZENGY, on a shield in a roundel.

Asculf de Soligné : QUARTERLY.

Yseult [Isolda] de Dol, femme d'Asculf de Soligné circ. 1210 : QUARTERLY.

Alan le jeune de Rohan : a BEND.

Geoffry, vicomte de Rohan, 1222 : 7 MASCLES ; another, 1216, a LION *rampant* ; counterseal, the same with a *bordure undy*.

Eon de Pontchastneau, 1189 : 3 CRESCENTS ; another, 1200, 3 *crests and a chief*, over all a *cross fleur de lisée*, in the centre a *rose*.

Aimery de Thouars, 1214 : on a shield, an ESCUTCHEON *of pretence*, an *orle of martlets and a canton*.

* Sir Dreux de Mellot was lord of Mayenne in right of his wife Isabella eld. d. and coh. of Juhel III. lord of Mayenne. To a charter of his, 1237, is a seal of 2 *bars* between (? 6) *birds*, to which a label of 4 points is added on a seal of 1219 (Coll. Top. and Gen. vi. 286).

William de Fougères : * 3 FERN LEAVES occupying a large shield.

Rualand Goion, 1218 : 4 BARS, on the first, *a label* of 5 points.

Guillaume de Montfort, 1230 : on his shield a PAIR OF SHEARS ; on his large counterseal, the same, and the letters A. M.

Raoul D'Aubigné : 4 FUSILS.

Guillaume D'Aubigné, 1200 : 4 FUSILS, 3 *roundels* in chief, and 3 in base.

Rolland de Hillion, 1276 : a BEND.

Olivier Elie or Helto, 1276 : in a quatrefoil, a CROSS CROSSLET *between 2 birds and 2 stars* ; legend, "Scel Olivier Helto."

Rolland de Dinan, 1276 : 3 FUSILS *ermine*, 4 *roundels* *ermine* in chief and 3 in base.

Geoffry de Dinan, 1298 : 3 FUSILS, 4 *roundels* in chief and 2 in base.

Jean de Maure, 1298 : a CRESCENT *vaire*.

I shall now bring this considerable list of early armorial-seals to a close, by a miscellaneous collection of English arms during the 12th century, or not extending far into the next. Further research would doubtless discover many more, but an investigation for the purpose is often almost fruitless, whilst a desultory examination of books and MSS. is as often unexpectedly rewarded with success.

Robert de Tateshall, temp. Hen. II., CHEQUY, *a chief ermine*.†

Hasculfus Musard, dead 31 Hen. II., 3 ANNULETS.

Ralph M. his son, the same (Lansd. MSS. 306 P. 76).

Gervase Paganell, temp. Hen. II., 2 LIONS *passant*.‡

* On the shield of Wm. de Fougères 1200, is a branch of fern debruised by a bend, a star of 6 points on each side of the shield, one of the badges of the House of Anjou and seen on several of the seals of the English Kings. (Mr. Planché—Arch. Journal, vi. 185.)

† Dugdale's Baronage. The heiress of Tateshall married Cailli, and the heiress of Cailli Clifton, both of which families also bore this coat.

‡ Dugdale's Monasticon.

Hubert de Anesty, son of Richard de A. both living 7 Rich. I.: on a counterseal to a deed of that date, a FESS.*

Hugh de Chaucombe, 7 John: FRETTEY, in chief a *crescent between 2 stars*.†

Sir Alan Fitz Brian ob. 1190: equestrian seal with legend "Sig. Alani fil. Briani," on shield and housings, 3 BARS.‡

Henry Earl of Eu, living temp. Hen. II. and Rich. I.: equestrian, on a shield partly visible, A CHIEF charged with 2 or 3 MULETS, a well executed seal.§

Sir Adam de Bendenges (son and heir of William de Bendenges, one of the Justiciars of Henry II.) ob. 1229: a well executed seal, not equestrian, 3 BARS, legend "Sig. Ade de Betneggis."||

Peter fitz Herbert, ob. 1235: 3 LIONS *rampant* (Lansd. MSS. 203.)

Robert de Crevequer, attached to a deed prior to 10 Rich. I.: equestrian, on the shield, 3 FLEURS DE LIS.**

John de Arderne: 3 GARBS on a seal attached to a deed dated 1209-28.††

Odo Burnard, temp. Ric. I.: a roundel, on a shield 3 LEAVES.‡‡

Peter de Scotney, temp. John: round seal, on a shield, on a BEND *cottised* 4 *billets*, a *bordure indented*, legend "Sigillum Petri de Scotenie."§§

Hamo de Gattun, c. 1200: CHEQUY: on the secretum a chief chequy.||||

Robert de St. John. On a circular seal, within the legend (S. Roberti Scti. Johannis) on a roundel *not on a shield* 3 BUCKLES each of different form, a beautifully en-

* Manning's and Bray's Surrey, ii. 267.

† Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 251.

‡ Gale's Reg. Hon. de Richmond, App. p. 105.

§ Suss. Arch. Collections xiii. 133; also Moss, Hist. of Hastings.

|| Archæologia Cantiana v. 217.

** Streatfeild's Excerpta Cantiana.

†† Engraved in Top. and Gen. i. 215.

‡‡ Engraved in Coll. Top. and Gen. vi. 210.

§§ Engraved in Coll. Top. and Gen. vi. 106.

|||| Archæologia Cantiana iv. 219 and v. 222.

graved seal* [Walter de St. John in a Roll of Arms of the 13th century has assigned to him (No. 163) *d'azure trois fermaux d'or*; *Archæologia* vol. xxxix.]

William son of Walter de Hevre, c. 1200: on a shield *a chief* *ERMINE*.†

Michael de Cantelu, c. 1200: on a shield *VAIRE* or *mascally*.‡

Geoffry de Baileul, c. 1200: on a shield a *CROSS MO-LINE* and 8 *fleurs de lis*, one within each angle of the cross and one against each end of it.§ [This Geffry does not occur in the pedigree in Surtees' Durham (iv. 60.) The arms of Baliol as generally borne were an *orle*. In Blakiston church, co. Durham, the arms of Baliol *an orle debriused by a bend* co-exist with another coat the basis of that of the seal viz. a cross moline which is attributed to Fulthorp. See *Archæological Journal*, xii. 148. This is an instance of a cadet relinquishing the paternal coat and taking that of another family, probably through marriage. Another example of this occurs in the next instance.]

William de Veteriponte, temp. John or Hen. III.: on a shield 3 *lions rampant*, a *star in the fess point* and 2 stars outside the shield: secretum 2 demi lions combatant on a roundel.|| The arms of the Baronial family of Vipont were 3 or 6 annulets.

The following are from Seton's *Heraldry in Scotland*:—

Gilbert Earl of Strathern, c. 1198: 9 *BILLETS* on a shield.

Patrick Dunbar 5th Earl of March, c. 1200: a *LION rampant* on a shield.

Robert Croc, c. 1200: 3 *CROOKS*.

Sir Alexander Seton c. 1216: 3 *CRESCENTS* and a *label*.

William de Vesci, c. 1200: a *CROSS patonce*.

Galfridus de Hordene, c. 1230; a *FESS between 3 pelicans*.

Thomas de Aunoy, c. 1237: an *escallop SHELL*.

Mr. Seton (p. 190) has these observations: "Several of the earliest Scottish seals exhibit figures which were not ultimately adopted as the armorial ensigns of the families with which they are associated when Heraldry was

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, vi. 209. † *Ibid.* vi. 210. ‡ *Ibid.* vi. 216.

§ *Ibid.* vii. 221.

|| *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 65.

placed on a systematic basis. Thus the seals of William Wallace (1160) Adam Home (1165) Patrick Ridel (1170) Duncan Earl of Carrick (1180) and Robert Pollok (1200) we find an eagle, an annulet, a lion, a dragon, and a boar respectively,—totally different charges having been afterwards borne as the heraldic ensigns of these surnames.” This is no argument against all these devices being armorial. There are instances on the contrary where an early device not placed on a shield, and therefore not considered heraldic, coincides with the bearings in use at a subsequent period. Thus a seal of John de Mundegumri (1176) exhibits a fleur de lis on a roundel, the subsequent arms of the family being 3 fleurs de lis. Again, the seals of Sir Walter Lindsay early in the 12th century, and of Sir David Lindsay early in the 13th century exhibit an eagle, which was afterwards borne by a branch of the family. A seal of Innes of 1295 has a star not on a shield; 3 stars or mullets being afterwards borne by the family. (See Review of Laing’s Scottish Seals in *Herald and Genealogist*, part xix.)

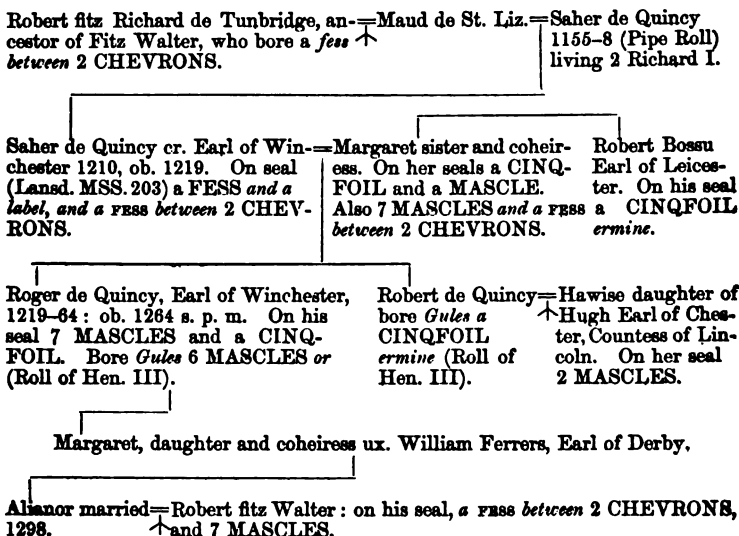
Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, temp. Richard I: on a shield a FESS and a LABEL of 7 or more points, the same bearings on the housings of his horse, and on the pennon of the lance which he carries, and on a shield in his *secretum*. But on another shield placed behind the equestrian figure is a FESS between 2 CHEVRONS. His wife was Margaret daughter and coheirress of Robert de Breteuil or fitz Parnell, Earl of Leicester. The seal she used in her widowhood, the legend of which is “Sigill. Margarete de Quency, Comitissæ Wintoniæ,” exhibits on an arch under which she stands, a CINQFOIL, her dress, covered with MASCLÉS, the lining of her mantle *vaire*, 2 shields on a tree, one containing a *fess* between 2 *chevrons* as before, another 7 *masclés*. Roger de Quincy son of Saher and Margaret was Earl from 1219 to 1264. On the shield of his seal are 7 *masclés*, on the obverse he is afoot fighting with a lion, in the area of the shield is a *cinqfoil*; and a *wyvern* or *dragon* is displayed as a crest.*

* Winchester vol. (1845) of Arch. Assoc., Paper on the Seals of Earls of Winchester. Also Nichols’ Hist. of Leic.

The seal of Robert Bossu Earl of Leicester, brother of the aforesaid Margaret, exhibits a large CINQUEFOIL *ermine*.*

The seal of Hawise de Quincy, Countess of Lincoln contains 2 *mascles*.†

The following pedigree will assist the comprehension of the connexion of all these arms:—



The seal of WILLIAM DE ROMARA, who died 1198, grandson of William de Romara Earl of Lincoln, is 7 MASCLÉS *crusilly*. Without the crosslets the 7 mascles were the arms borne it seems by Roger de Quincy† Earl of Winchester, and they are also on the seal of his mother Margaret. Yet there seems no more reason to suppose they were borne by her except in right of her husband, than were the fess and chevrons of his stepfather Robert fitz Richard. They were probably the original bearings of the Quincys, and perhaps their use by Romara indicated a common origin male or female of both families. The fess of Saher de Quincy seems unaccounted for; was

* Nichols' Hist. of Leic.

† Top. and Gen. i. 321.

‡ And also by De Rohan *ut ante* p. 191.

it not the charge borne by St. Liz, and was not the fess in the shield of Robert fitz Richard taken on marriage with Maud de St. Liz? There is a seal however, apparently of Simon de St. Liz who married Maud daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northampton, circumscribed "*Sigillum Simonis Comitis Northamtuniæ*" attached to a charter witnessed by Matilda de St. Licio, his wife, in which the shield of the warrior is half displayed, and exhibits apparently a *bordure engrailed* and the half of a *fleur de lis*.* But this may be incorrectly sketched or engraved.

Mr. Ormerod in his *History of Cheshire* (i. 511) gives a representation of a seal of Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester, temp. John, which exhibits a GRIFFIN *attacked by a serpent*, that he intimates typifies the hostility of the Earls of Chester to their enemies the Princes of Wales, who bore the griffin "as a badge." Griffith ap Cynan was King of North Wales, A.D. 1079, and probably bore a griffin for his heraldic device. In Harl. MSS. 2064, (The Ledger Book of Vale Royal) p. 307, is given a charter of the Earl of Chester, witnessed by John the Constable, Hugh and Adam de Duttun, etc. on the *secretum* of the seal of which, is *a griffin with the tail of a fish*. And in the same volume are given two charters of Roger the Constable, with a similar seal to that mentioned by Mr. Ormerod.

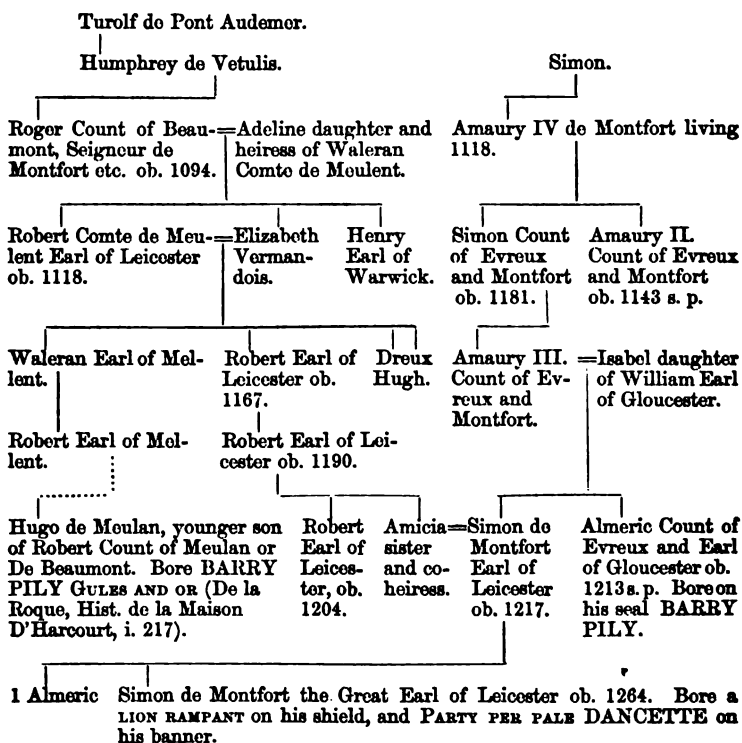
Almaric (son of Simon Earl of EVREUX by Mabel daughter and coheirress of William Earl of Gloucester) bore on his seal and *secretum*, with the legend "*Sigillum Almarici Comitis Gloverniæ*," the heraldic charge of BARRY PILE.† His nephew Simon, the great Earl of Leicester, as depicted in stained glass in the Cathedral of Chartres,‡ bore on his banner the charge of *party per pale indented* evidently the same bearing as his uncle's; but the latter was probably carelessly executed, and the indented lines spread over the whole field instead of being confined to the place of the pale.

* Nichols' Hist. of Leic. ii. Part i. App. p. 8.

† Archæologia Cantiana, iii. 142.

‡ Engraved in *Herald and Genealogist*, Part xiii. p. 10.

The following pedigree (chiefly from *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*) will show who bore this coat, and also the lion with two tails. Both these coats appear to have been borne by the two families of Beaumont or Mellent and Montfort, perhaps in respect of cross matches, or probably owing to both families having a common origin.



* * * Amaury de Miland, according to a Roll of Arms, circ. 1280, bore *Sable un lion rampant d'argent à la queue fourchée l'escus billeté d'argent*. It seems most likely that this is Amaury de Meulene living 1271. The ancient Counts of Meulent bore *de sable un lion d'argent à la queue fourchée* (Herald and Genealogist, Part xxiii. p. 429.)

The seal of RALPH DE ISSODUN, Earl of Eu, jure ux. who died 1219, exhibits BARRY and a *label* of 7 points. This was the same coat borne with differences by Aymer de Valence and Grey de Lusignan, both of the same family.

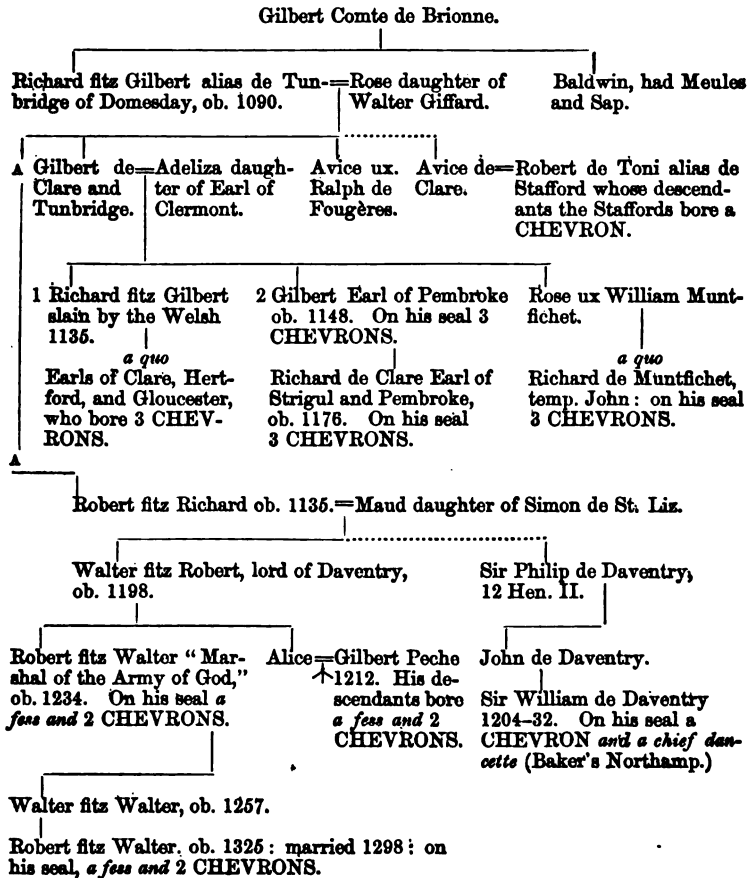
We shall now be prepared more fully to carry still

higher the antiquity of the distinguished bearings of the house of Clare, the well known chevrons, although positive proof has already been given of their claim to rank amongst the very earliest proved coats of arms. It fortunately happens in this case that there is an amount of presumptive evidence that would suffice alone to prove indirectly the existence of armorial bearings at, if not long before the Conquest. The shield of a *fess between 2 chevrons*, which we have seen is on the seal of Saher de Quincy, is the familiar coat of Fitz Walter, and can be intended for none other than that of his step-father, Robert fitz Richard, ancestor of the Fitz Walters. Now this Robert died 1134. Rose, sister of Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, married William Muntfichet whose great-grandson, Richard de M., bore on his shield temp. John 3 *chevrons*. This circumstance, with the fact that the descendants of Richard the brother of Gilbert bore them too, shows that their father Gilbert de Clare must also have borne that coat. *His* brother Robert we have just seen bore 2 *chevrons*, and there is little doubt that Avice their sister was the Avice de Clare who married Robert de Toni, whose descendants the Staffords bore a *chevron*. This carries these bearings up to the Richard fitz Gilbert of Domesday their father. This Richard fitz Gilbert had in Surrey and Essex two or three under tenants whose possessions were considerable, and who on that account were probably sons-in-law or other near relatives. They were the family of Wattville, who bore 3 *chevrons* for arms, of Dabernon who bore a *chevron*, and "John" whose descendants of the name of Walton and Buckland, each bore also *one chevron*.

We have before seen that Baldwin Earl of Hainault bore on his seal 3 *chevrons*. The Christian name here being found more than once in the early generations of the De Clares, affords a clue of connexion that is much strengthened by the identity of arms; and there can be little doubt that the chevrons in both families came from one source. There would appear no reason to suppose that the ancient Counts of Hainault would adopt in case of a marriage (if any there were) with the more modern

Earls of Clare their armorial emblems; and as the chevrons of the Clares seem to have been in use at the Conquest, we must seek for an earlier era before we could meet with a common ancestor.

After this pretty clear and continuous trace of the chevrons of De Clare up to the grandfather of Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, what becomes of Mr. Planché's confident suggestion that his armorial device consisted simply of the bands made to strengthen his shield, which in the next generation took the form of chevrons?



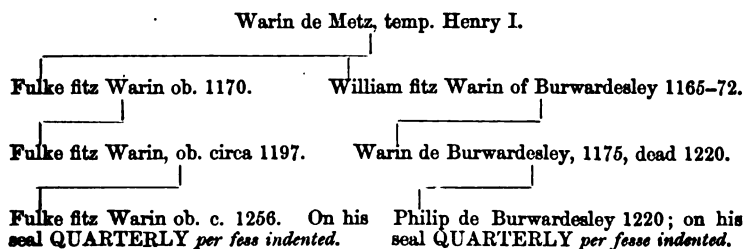
There remain to be noticed a few early coats from

seals and rolls, that in themselves are of little significance, but made as it were the corner stone of a pedigree, can be presumptively shown to be of early origin, taken in connection with similar arms borne by families having a common origin with the owners of the seals. This course could doubtless be pursued with equal success in the case of the great majority of the arms already given, if the genealogy of cognate families could be met with.

An EAGLE is found on the seal of Thomas Count of SAVOY, 1206. The coat of Montmorency is a *cross between* 4 EAGLES.* Mathew de M. who died 1162, married Alice daughter of Hubert II. Count of Savoy. Can there be a doubt that the eagles here are taken from the coat of Savoy? If so, this coat is carried back half a century earlier.

The well known coat of De Ros, *three* WATER BOUGETS, was no doubt taken on the marriage of Everard de Ros with Rose daughter and coheir of William Trusbut. Everard died *ante* 32 Hen. II. The water bougets therefore must have been assumed by TRUSBUT as early as the middle of the 12th century. And that De Ros previously bore the allusive charge of *roses* is probable from the fact of 3 ROSES being the arms of the knightly family of COSINGTON of Cosington, co. Kent, whose ancestor was a De Ros.

The arms of FITZ-WARIN may be traced to the time of Henry I. by the following pedigree:—†

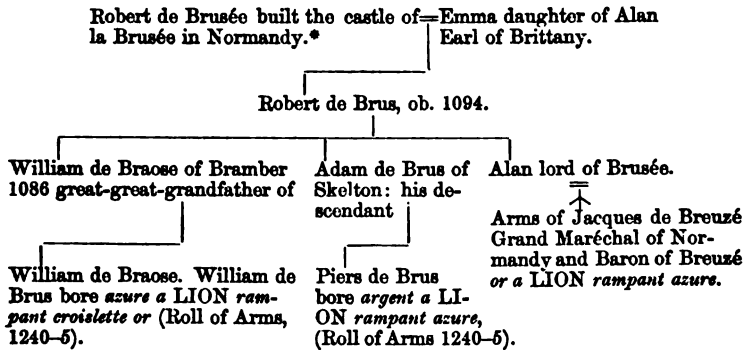


In like manner the lion of BRUS and BRAOSE may be

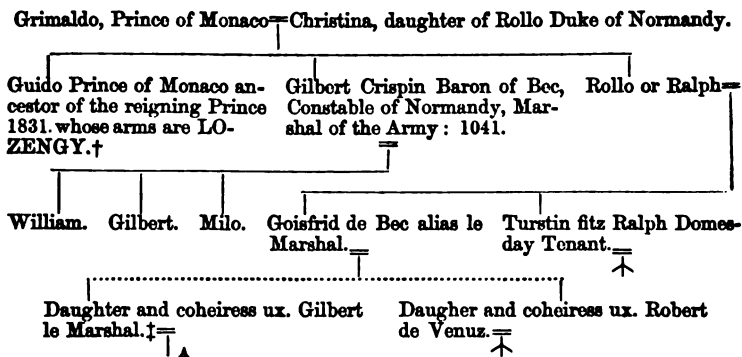
* Planché's *Pursuivant at Arms*, P. 90.

† From Eyton's *Antiq. of Shropshire*. Mr. E. presumes these two similar coats were taken from each other, and are not of an early common origin.

traced up to the Conquest; unless of course the theory combated hereafter may be considered adequate to explain similar bearings by two powerful barons who were second or third cousins.



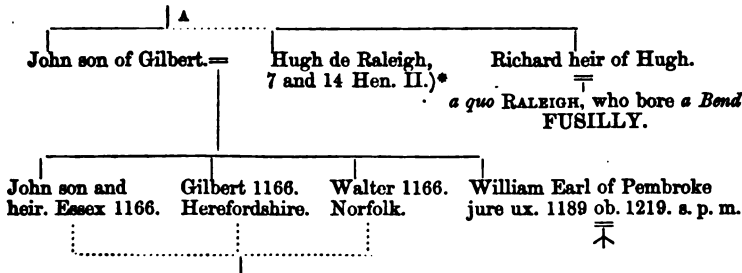
The following pedigree in the early part compiled by the late Mr. Stacey Grimaldi (*Gent.'s Mag.* Jan. 1832) will assist in showing how the bearing of LOZENGY and its derivative a bend FUZILLY, may be traced to the early part of the 11th century:—



* This pedigree is from *Drummond's British Families*.

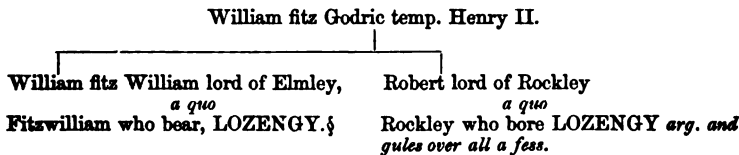
† The descendants of Guelph a Bavarian count who lived in 820, became Dukes of Bavaria. The arms of this kingdom, LOZENGY are known to be one of the most ancient in Europe. A Grimoaldus was Duke of Bavaria in 665, and his grandson of the same name in 728. Lozengy was also the armorial ensign of the Counts of Angoulême, descended of the Dukes of Aquitaine who also bore this coat.

‡ Madox in his *History of the Exchequer* gives an account of the



a quo
 Sir William le Mareschal of Hants who bore *Gules a bend engrailed* or FUZILLY† or and Sir Ansell [Anselm] of Norfolk who bore the same with a *label azure* (Roll of Arms temp. Edw. II).

Collins in his *Peerage* states that the present coat of Earl FITZWILLIAM was borne as early as temp. Henry I., it being found on a seal attached to a deed of Sir William F. of Elmley, of that reign: this is an evident mistake for Henry II. as the following pedigree, on the excellent authority of Mr. Hunter‡ will show; as it will also, even in the absence of the seal, that the arms were in existence as early as that period, from the fact of the family of ROCKLEY who bore a similar coat being sprung from a common ancestor living then.



office of Marshal of the King's Court, about which a contest arose temp. Hen. I. between John son of Gilbert le Marshal and Robert de Venuz. The latter it appears held the manors of East Worldham in Hants and Draycote in Wilts, by the serjeantry of performing the office of marshal. These manors by the Domesday Survey are said to be held by Geoffrey le Marshal.

* John son of Gilbert le Marshal by a charter without date gives to Hugh de Raleigh probably his brother the manor of Nettlecombe in Somersetshire. (Coll. Top. and Gen. ii. 163.)

† In Charles's Roll of Arms temp. Hen. III. the charge fusilly is drawn engrailed, as in the examples of Montague and Percy.

‡ Hist. of South Yorkshire.

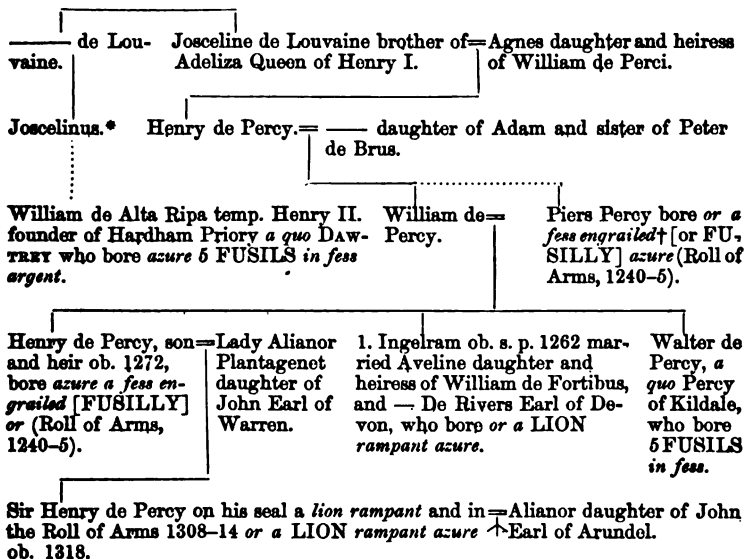
§ Woodhall of the same lineage temp. Hen. III. bore *lozengy* with a *label* of 5 points.

We have found on the seal of William de COURCY in the 13th century (ante p. 189) the charge of *fretty*. This is also the principal charge in the arms of John de NEVILL, as evidenced by the roll of Henry III. Baldericus the Teuton living temp. William I. was father of two sons, who took the names respectively of Courcy and Nevill. We may therefore presume the original arms of Nevill were *fretty*, and were so borne at the Conquest. A fret or *fretty* was also borne by the families of VERNON and VERDUN, who with the family of De Réviers seem to have sprung from one of the early Earls of Eu. The owners of the fief of De la Rivière in the Cotentin also bore a fret. That this was perhaps the original ensign of the Earldom of Eu seems probable from the fact that the families of MALTRAVERS, ÉCHINGHAM, and St. LEGER, all considerable tenants of the earl at the Domesday survey, subsequently bore a fret or *fretty* for their armorial bearings.

What is called the "old coat of Percy," viz. 5 FUSILS would appear to be of very early origin. The more modern lion first appears on the seal of Sir Henry de PERCY who married Fitz Alan, and whose lion rampant is supposed to have been assumed by him. But a more probable origin seems to have been the blue lion on a golden shield of the Earl of Devon which in the Roll of Edward II. (1308-14) is said to be "*abatue*" or extinct, whilst it is said in the same roll to be borne by Sir Henry de Percy, whose father was heir of his second brother Ingelram, who married Adeline, daughter and heiress of William de Fortibus by Isabel daughter and heiress of Baldwin De Rivers Earl of Devon. Ingelram by her had no issue, and she remarried Edmund Earl of Lancaster, who never bearing her arms, it would seem that it was by permission allowed to be borne by Ingelram's brother or nephew. [See *ante*, p. 181.] Or a *lion rampant azure* was also borne by Lovel, as appears in the Roll of Henry III.

There can be no doubt that the old arms of Percy, viz. the fusils, were the bearings of Josceline de Louvaine. The family of Dawtrey of his lineage bore them. That

the fusil was a Flemish device appears from several coats which can be traced to a Flemish source. Joceline le Fleming was father of Richard fitz Jues (Joyce) who at the Domesday Survey held Cukenai and Andesley, co. Notts. The arms of Fitz Jues as given in the Dictionaries are *a bend between 6 FUSILS*; of Annesley 7 FUSILS; of Cookney 3 FUSILS charged with roses. Welbeck Abbey was founded or enriched by some of this family. A coat of Welbeck is a chevron between three FUSILS and of the Abbey the same as that of Cookney. William le Fleming, or de Furness was son of Sir Michael le Fleming living temp. Stephen: a coat of Fleming is 3 bars in chief 3 FUSILS: and Furneaux bears a pale FUSILLY, and a fess FUSILLY.



* This charter from the Cartulary of Lewes priory contains these words "Sciant &c. quod ego Jocelinus nepos Jocelini fratris Adelissæ reginæ dedi etc. ecclesiæ Scti Georgi de Heringham etc. pro anima Jocelini avunculi." (Dallaway, Hist. of West Suss. ii. 291.)

† This was the way in which the fusils were blazoned: the fusils of Montagu are also so blazoned in the same roll, and from the mode in which an ordinary engrailed was drawn in early examples its appearance was that of fusils. This is further illustrated in the case of the bend fusilly of Mareschal which in the Roll of Edw. II. is called a bend engrailed.

That the fess fuzilly lapsed sometimes into the fess dancetty, is proved in the bearings of a branch of the Neville family. Ralph son of Ralph de Neville married Alice de Albini; and abandoning his paternal coat armour took that of his wife viz. a fess fusilly: his son Robert bore the same coat with the difference of a bordure pellettée: *his* son Philip, according to the Roll of Arms of Edward II. bore a fess *dancette*, over all a bend; and Philip's son Robert bore a fess *dancette* in a bordure enrailed.*

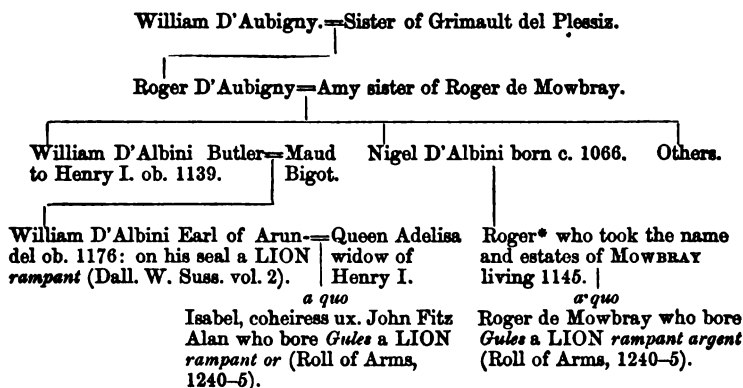
The fess dancette of VAVASOUR seems to have had a similar origin. This family at the Domesday Survey were undertenants of the Percies. Malger then held of William de Perci, Eselwode (Hazelwood) Edlington, etc. Mr. Hunter† says William de Perci *before* the Domesday Survey gave Edlington and Barnby to Malger; and his great-grandson Robert le Vavasour gave Edlington with his daughter Maud to Theobald Walter. Malger le Vavasour son of Sir William le Vavasour, who with his sons Robert and Malger witnessed a charter of Matilda de Percy 1184–1204, who was son of Malger, who was son of the Malger of Domesday, sealed a charter with a double chevron or dancette, which is figured in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (vi. 127): upon which the editor remarks "This seal is here represented, as it affords a very remarkable example of the manner in which some of our most ancient coats originated. The M. is doubtless the initial of Malgerus or Mauger; but it afterwards became a dancette, which to this day is the bearing of Vavasour." But where are there analogous examples? A Vavasour probably married a Percy and took their coat of arms, as Nevill did that of Albini.

The following pedigree‡ will show the probability of the lion of ALBINI and MOWBRAY having had a common origin, and at a very early period:—

* Drummond's British Families.

† Hist. of South Yorkshire, i. 91.

‡ Partly from Taylor's edition of Wace's *Roman de Rou.*



The seal† of Robert FITZ MALDRED (a descendant of Cospatrick the Saxon Earl of Northumberland who died 1070) living temp. Rich. I. exhibits a *SALTIRE*; he married Isabel daughter and coheiress of Geffry de Nevill from which match all the great Nevills descend. This bearing Mr. Planché seems disposed to think of some antiquity, though reluctant to admit it, for his words are "The saltire may have been retained by the descendants of Cospatrick as their cognizance, or assumed by them at a later period, in commemoration of him." Are we to understand by this that Cospatrick used this device, and after his death it fell into disuse, and a century afterwards, like an old rusty sword it was taken from its hiding place and rehabilitated? Except for the saltire being also the cross of St. Andrew, there was no occasion from any evidence Mr. Planché produces, or from its being borne by a kindred family, to seek a higher antiquity than that of the seal itself: but still, from its being the ensign of the patron saint of Scotland, and therefore anterior to the supposed rise of heraldry, he seems haunted by a vague conviction that this device at least was not a new adoption, and to evade the conclusion of its being borne by the successive descendants of Cospatrick mystifies his

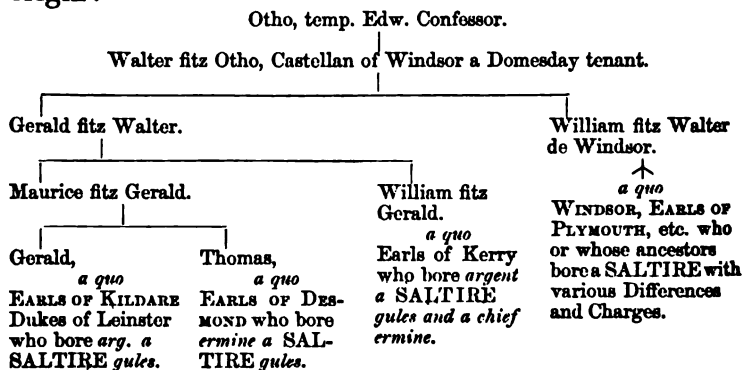
* Mr. Taylor makes Nigel the father of this Roger son of William and Maud, but dates scarcely permit this affiliation.

† Engraved in Surtees' *Durham*, and Drummond's *British Families*.

meaning, and imagines a strange and extraordinary cause of its supposed first adoption by Robert fitz Maldred.*

But that the Saltire was an ancient Scottish or Saxon ensign seems probable. Robert de Brus who died 1141 obtained the grant of Annandale. His descendants bore a saltire as the basis of their arms, apparently as the ensigns of this fief.† It is given as the ensign of Offa king of Mercia in the 9th century; and might have been that of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland in the 10th century. It never seems to have been so common as the cross of St. George, nor as the lion or many other bearings: it is only found once in the list of arms of the Crusaders at Versailles, and in England the earliest instances met with are in the roll of Henry III (1240–5) where there are only three coats of this bearing, whilst in the Roll of Edward II the proportion is 28 coats to 92 of Crosses of all kinds.

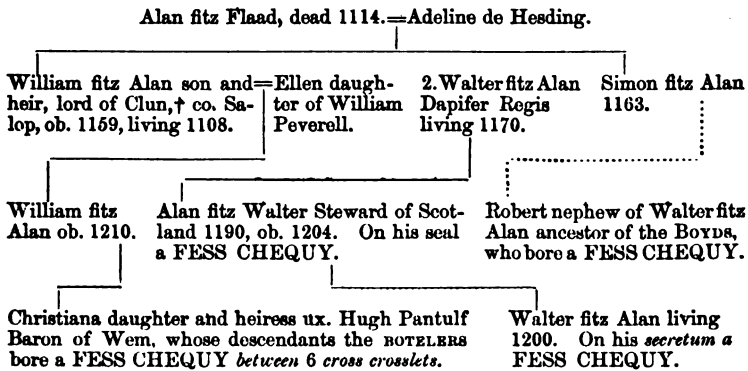
The following table will show the prevalence of the SALTIRE amongst numerous families who had a common origin:—



* Mr. Planché in his work gives engravings of three shields of chessmen of the 12th century containing ornamental crosses; another containing a saltire, and one quite heraldic,—a chief charged with a saltire: and subsequently an engraving of a shield said to be of the end of the 11th century, which shows a double bordure, the field fretty and pelletée. But the most important of the shields of these chessmen he altogether omits, viz. Quarterly, in the first and fourth quarters, chequy. These chessmen are amongst the antiquities in the British Museum. They are fully described, and the circumstances of their discovery by Sir F. Madden in the *Archæologia* (vol. 24), referred to at page 170.

† Waltheof son of Cospatrick was lord of Allerdale or Allandale

The following pedigree* shows from seals the descent of the familiar FESS CHEQUY of the family of STEWART, from an early source, too early it appears to have been derived from the chequy of Warren, and therefore probably from some source common to it, and the first house of Vermandois.



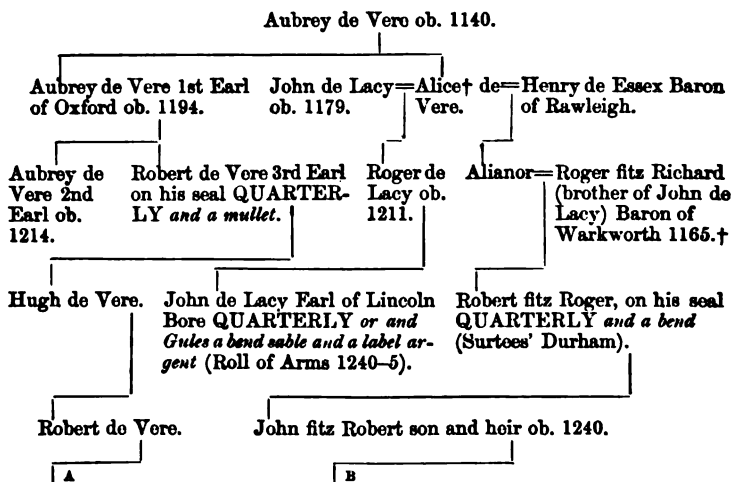
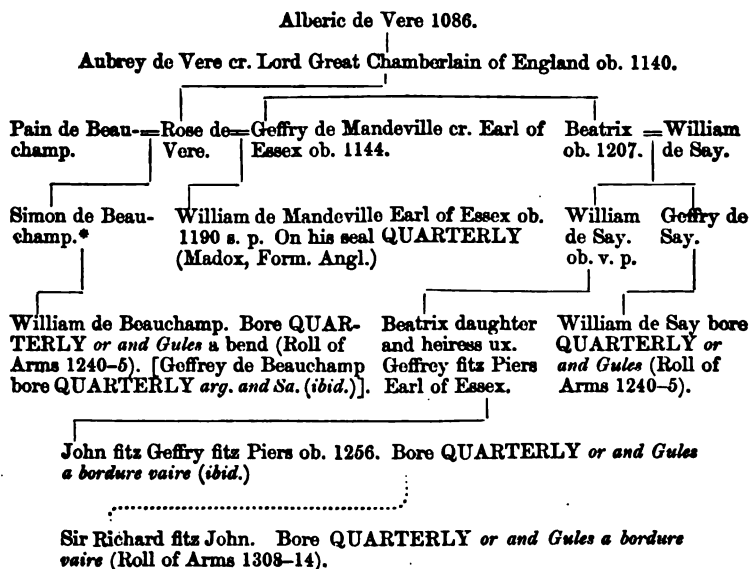
The pedigree which follows shows the extensive ramification of a very prevalent bearing in early English armory, viz. the simple QUARTERLY shield. There can be little doubt that the source of this honoured armorial ensign is to be found in the distinguished family of DE VERE, as all the families in the table who bear it are descended from the head of that house who lived at the commencement of the 12th century.‡

in Cumberland. The latter was son of Maldred son of Crinan by Alghitha daughter of Ughtred who was son of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland 969. The great fief of *Annandale* or Strath-annan, in Dumfriesshire, bordered on Cumberland, and probably the two fiefs were originally one.

* From Eyton's Shropshire, vii. 228. The seals are from Laing's *Scottish Seals*.

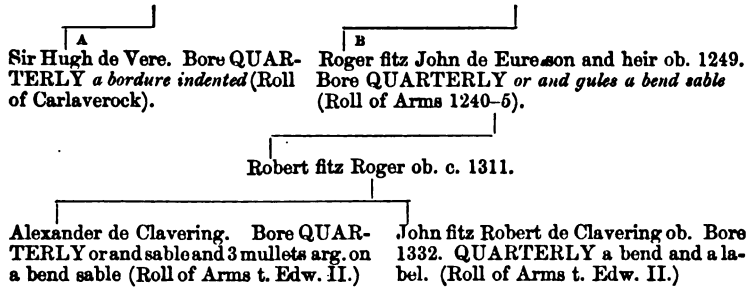
† To the family of Clun is assigned the bearing of a *chief*; this we have seen was on the seal of De Housdain early in the 13th century: this family was doubtless the same as De Hesding, and a branch of the Comtes de Hesdin in Flanders. See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

‡ The coat of SACKVILLE, *quarterly a bend vair*, is doubtless derived from De Vere, but by what match does not clearly appear. The match given by Collins in his account of the family is evidently incorrect.



* Charter of William de Mandeville witnessed by "Simone de B. fratre meo." (Madox.)

† The accounts of the connection of the Lacys and the ancestor of the Claverings with De Vere are conflicting, and that of Dugdale contradictory: that given here is believed to be correct, or approximately so.



A remarkable peculiarity in all these quarterly coats is the adherence to the colours *or* and *gules*, except in one instance: various modes of differencing were adopted, always avoiding change of colour of the field. But none of the subsequent bearers took the mullet of De Vere, a distinction evidently peculiar to that family, and not as is supposed a mark of cadency, and which will be explained hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE PRESUMED ORIGIN OF
HERALDRY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

I HAVE now I think presented such an array of facts, genealogical and heraldic, as will constitute a sufficient body of evidence to enable us to form an opinion by inductive reasoning, as to whether Heraldry originated at the time it first appears on seals, or much earlier. For this is the "crucial test" by which Mr. Planché, and writers of his school, try the claims of the science to antiquity. That it is a most unfair test—in fact, no test at all, as shown by seals themselves—I shall attempt to prove. We find coats of arms on seals of at least persons of knightly rank, almost universal in the middle and end of the 13th century; at the end of the 12th century they are numerous, but not general; at the middle of the century they are rare, and previously, and in the 11th century, there are scarce a dozen instances all of which are given in this work, and which Mr. Planché and others distrust as fictions. But as numerous seals of the 11th and 12th centuries, of persons of the highest rank, have come down to us without any heraldic insignia inscribed on them, it is contended as a conclusive argument that they were then unknown, and had not begun to be adopted. But what is the force of a negative argument? Because no coins of a certain king's reign, or of a certain denomination are to be met with, is it logical to infer that none such were made? Because in Domesday Book some persons are entered with only their Christian names, are we to conclude they

had no surnames? Because in early deeds and records Barons and Knights were mentioned by their plain untitled names, are we to suppose they were *not* Barons or Knights? In the present day, crests are generally engraven on note-paper and envelopes. Would the antiquaries of five centuries hence be justified in dating the use of crests from their use on note-paper, or inferring that those who used plain paper were not possessed of a crest? Such and many others are just analogies; and no negative argument so compared can decide any question. But what arguments of a positive character do seals themselves afford—such as have been enumerated? Heraldic symbols amongst a military people were depicted on shields and banners, on the surcoat of the warrior, and the housings of his horse. We have seen that the seals of the early earls of Flanders (except the questioned one of 1072) are without any armorial devices till 1164; but there was no opportunity to exhibit them, for the warrior's shield is displayed naturally, viz. averted, and only the inside appears; the horses have no trappings, and no banner is carried. It is contended that *if* arms were then borne, an opportunity would be *made* to exhibit them, as afterwards, on a seal.* This depends on the feeling and fashion of the times about the matter. It is quite clear that until the middle of the 13th century, an armorial device was not considered any essential part of such an important object as a man's personal seal, an impression from which was equivalent to a sign manual in the present day. The instances of royal and

* Because no stirrups appear on the ancient equestrian monuments, antiquaries conclude that so simple a contrivance was unknown to the Romans. But we should consider how much of the real costume of the time was suppressed by sculptors—how generally the ancient vases, coins, lamps, reliefs, nay even triumphal arches, represent chariot horses without even yoke or traces—how seldom the saddles or rather Ephippia appear on statues (the spurs and horseshoes never)—how greatly stirrups would detract from the freedom and grace of an equestrian figure. Besides something like one stirrup does appear on an antique at the Vatican: the *Anaboleus* of Plutarch would imply a stirrup as well as a groom; and Eustathius gives both meanings to the word.—Forsyth's Italy, p. 133. A coin of Q. Labienus represents a horse saddled and bridled.

noble persons who in the 12th century did not exhibit arms or seals when others of the same rank did, need not be here repeated; and it is a well known fact that many persons of rank even in the beginning of the 13th century used seals that were not armorial. *Why*, it may be difficult to tell: perhaps the artist could not well or conveniently depict the arms; perhaps the owner was indifferent, as a gentleman of ancient family of the present day is, whether he sealed a deed with his armorial seal or any other. And this mode of engraving the shield averted, or the face only partially seen, was the prevailing practice down to the end of the 12th century, even amongst kings and great men: and it was so doubtless because it was the only true and faithful representation of holding the shield. Moreover these seals are generally so rudely done that it is no wonder the artist was not enjoined to delineate a coat of arms: but even were that otherwise, it is plain the *fashion* had not become general of engraving heraldic symbols on seals till the 13th century. There are none on any seal of Henry II.; none on the seal of his son Geffry Count of Brittany; and yet no one would suppose that *they* had none when the father of the king is proved to have borne them, and also several of his nobles and cotemporaries. But on all these seals of warriors on horseback, the exhibition of banners is extremely rare; on general grounds, therefore we should be as much justified in denying the existence of banners from their absence on the seals of warriors as in denying the existence of devices on shields when the surface of those shields is not presented to view, or even where it is; for a banner is as much an accessory of warfare as a shield.

Mr. Planché's work "Heraldry founded on Facts"*

* This production is reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1865. The reviewer calls it "A rigorously scientific examination into the origin and early history of coat armour" and says that "it is full of learning and research." [!] As a test of the reviewer's competency to form a judgment of heraldic works two notorious errors may be quoted. He remarks 1st "It is a proof that hereditary heraldry is posterior to the tide of Norman immigration, that hardly a family of Norman origin can be named in England or Scot-

before mentioned is perhaps the most influential work written of late years on the antiquity of the science, at least on the sceptical side of the question; and therefore requires much notice in an opposite view of the subject. It professes to be written on the dictum of the poet—

“What can we reason but from what we know,—”

a most philosophical attitude to take, and unassailable if faithfully maintained. But if such a position is taken, and certain facts are selected as being the whole truth and reasoned upon accordingly; if collateral facts are eschewed, which bear upon the subject, and would modify an inference, or justify the suspension of the judgment,—then we have an *ex parte* statement, and an advocate's pleadings; and a just and impartial conclusion is impossible. Mr. Planché omits the important “facts” just considered, viz. that most early seals have the shield averted, and that many shields of princes and nobles are without heraldic insignia at a time when they were prevalent generally on seals. Other instances we have seen where Mr. Planché does not reason from the whole of “what we know,” or even what he has informed his readers, but from a part only. General conclusions from particular premises are not logical: and the only conclusion justly deducible from seals, is *not* that armorial bearings originated when they are first met with on them, but simply the observed fact that armorial bearings are first seen on seals in the 12th century.

Although therefore the general fact of heraldic sym-

land which bore arms at all similar to those of the parent family of the same surname in Normandy.” Now the hereditary character of coats of arms from the earliest times will be sufficiently proved presently; but numerous instances may be cited at once where the same family in England and Normandy *did* bear the same coat, viz. Vipont, Harcourt, Conyers, Courtenay, Bruce, Warren, Courcy, &c., whose seals are given in the foregoing pages. Secondly, the Reviewer gives currency to the puerile and exploded notion that “the chequered fess in the Stewart shield represents the Steward's board.” This is like the old notion that the Warren chequy coat gave rise to “the chequers to be seen on the sides of tavern doors;” such chequers having been also found on doorposts at Pompeii, and as these pages record, on the shield of a Greek Warrior!

bols not being met with on seals before the 11th century; or to speak more certainly the 12th century, does not exclude the possibility of their much earlier exhibition in other ways, yet in itself it has no tendency to establish it. But a comparison in detail of a collection of them as here given, in connection with genealogy, and other facts and circumstances, assuredly does; and it shows the strong probability of such earlier use, if not its certainty.

Mr. Nichols, the Editor of the *Herald and Genealogist*, in commencing, in the number for March 1865, of that work, a series of articles on "the Origin and Development of Coat Armour," remarks, "it is our object to divest the subject entirely of theory and conjecture, and to proceed if we can, wholly upon evidence presented to our eyes, or upon well ascertained historical facts," and he praises Mr. Planché's work for being written "in the like spirit." These two writers are the most recent and authoritative on the subject and are the exponents of the latest and most generally accepted views. But I must *in limine* protest against the notion that in these inquiries all "theory and conjecture" should be discarded.* When Paley instances the case of a watch found on a heath, he does so to show that it is a circumstance to be *reasoned about*, how, and why it came there, etc. In like manner the "facts" presented in the foregoing pages are of little general value, unless viewed together, and interwoven in some theory to account for their origin and significance. Mr. Planché and Mr. Nichols may well deprecate flights of fancy when reflecting on the absurdities and extravagance to which the old writers by such excursions gave birth. In this as in other sciences one extreme has led to another; conjectures without facts have been replaced by facts without conjectures. In the wide domain of physical science, the isolated facts collected would never have resulted in the discovery of laws, but for repeated hypotheses and consequent gene-

* "Are we to be deterred from framing hypotheses, and constructing theories, because we find ourselves frequently beyond our depth? Undoubtedly not."—Sir J. Herschel, *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, p. 196.

ralizations. It is the business therefore of the searcher after Truth in Heraldry, as in other sciences, to frame hypotheses to account for the facts he has under his notice; but not to comprehend in his hypotheses fictions, as the old writers did; and to modify his hypotheses, if new facts require it.

"Theory and Conjecture" are indeed so natural, and follow so necessarily on the observation of a strange circumstance or a puzzling fact, that, notwithstanding this disclaimer, Mr. Nichols, in endeavouring to account for the "development of coat-armour" is insensibly, in fact inevitably, drawn into the vortex he sets out with an intention to avoid. I will therefore first examine the theory so evolved, and see how it accords with and is justified by facts.

Mr. Nichols says "Some of the simplest coats are those which bear what are called the Ordinaries,—the Chief, the Pale, the Bend, the Fess, and the Chevron, the Cross and the Saltire; the five former of which may all be regarded as having originally been bars placed in various directions to strengthen the shield, and the two latter as crossed bars." He then mentions coloured shields without charges, and divided by one or more lines into divisions: and he remarks of these that "there can be no doubt we see in these uncharged coats the earliest features of the art of armory."

Undoubtedly this simple kind of armorial bearings was among the earliest, if not the earliest adopted in military warfare. But if they constituted the germs of mediæval heraldry and arose at its alleged commencement, viz. in the 12th century, the "evidence presented to our eyes" would surely support the theory, and we should expect to find in the seals of the period, numerous ensigns of this particular guise, indeed we should expect to find the majority of this kind. Yet what are the facts? The fleur de lis, the maunche, the mascle, the fusil, the cross crosslet, one, three, and six lions, the cinque-foil, the mullet, the crescent, the roundel and swallows occur frequently in the armory of the 12th century. It is true that geometrical figures are also to be found,

but not in their simplest character, and of any kind are *comparatively* rare. Not an instance of a shield divided per party is to be met with, and in the instances given by Mr. Nichols he does not show one to have arisen in the 12th century.

To the theory of dividing the plain shield into equal divisions is superadded another to account for what are called the ordinaries. These are supposed by Mr. Planché to have lapsed accidentally into heraldic devices, from the circumstance of their having been employed to strengthen or fasten the shield, and were made ornamental and coloured.* This I fear is a theory taken up without duly considering the consequences that flow from it. It is in fact "proving too much."† According to descriptions

* This opinion was previously expressed by Mr. Raine in his *History of Durham* (p. 249). He gives a charter of Philip de Ulcotes (1207-17) the seal attached to which being *paly of six, a bordure bezantée*, he considers an early instance of the practice. And in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies* a representation is given of an effigy in Whitworth church yard, co. Durham, having a shield exhibiting *two bars and a bordure bezantée*, which is regarded as another example.

† The author of the article "Heraldry" in Brewster's *Edinburgh Cyclopædia* mentions another theory of the origin of the Ordinaries: "The partitions of the shield" he says "are supposed to be deduced from the habits of tournaments, which were frequently of different colours, sometimes the one side of the garment differing from the other, sometimes the top part from the bottom, etc. From the barriers and lists and their various parts, are taken the forms of the pale, the chevron, the cross saltire, etc."

Mr. Lower dedicates a chapter to the consideration of the "Rationale of Heraldic Charges, etc." which is certainly more *rational* in many parts than the theories mentioned. The Bend he says "represents a band or scarf worn over one shoulder. * * Of a similar origin is the Fess which represents a sash or military girdle. * * It is probable that the Pale originated in the insertion of a perpendicular stripe of a different colour from the mantle itself. * * The Chevron has generally been considered a kind of architectural Emblem. * * The chequered dress of the Celtic nations, still retained in the Highland plaid or tartan, may in some way have originated the Chequered coat of Heraldry. At all events this is a more probable source than the chess board from which some writers derive it. * * Roundels [or Pellets] may have been suggested by the studs or knobs by which the parts of an actual buckler were strengthened and held together. [Their occurrence on coins seems to have escaped the attention of Mr. Lower.] The An-

and examples of ancient shields and bucklers that we possess, they are found to be ornamented and fastened in various ways. A border is very common; it is generally studded (heraldically speaking *bezantée*) and studs are formed into various patterns, as circles, ovals, etc. Concentric rings are also observed, the intermediate spaces studded. And we may fairly imagine other innumerable forms of ornament composed of studs. Yet none of these figures coincide with heraldic figures. No example of the *bordure* is met with in the 12th century. Bands, horizontal, perpendicular and diagonal of course are identical with certain heraldic ensigns.* But practically, how could these have originated the armorial bands? These modes of fastening the shield must have been common; such bearings must therefore have been proportionally common; and if they became insensibly heraldic emblems, hundreds of persons must thus not only in England but throughout Europe, have become unconsciously to each other, the bearers of identical marks, and in a short time, through adoption, thousands of persons of knightly rank. It is a cause, if a true one, that excludes symbols derived from other sources as superfluous. As actually such bands formed only a small portion of the armory of England, indeed of Europe in the 13th century, it is difficult how to account for the accidental adoption of such marks, when devices of significant character were in their infinite variety open to choice; that is, difficult on the theory before us; and it is only in some other way, as by inheritance from remote times, when such patterns were used heraldically, that such unmeaning marks as geometrical divisions of the shield could be accounted for at all, at an era when other devices were borne of a different character.

nulet seems to have been taken from ring armour. * * The Mascle is taken from the mesh of a net. * * The Fret may have been borrowed from a knotted cord." Here we have a string of *conjectures*, when the *facts* exhibited on coins, vases, Trajan's column, and in architectural ornamentation, render all guess-work superfluous and trifling.

* If the ornamentation of the shield were the source of certain kinds of arms, how is it we do not find in heraldry early examples of the bend sinister and bendy sinister?

But the most fatal objection to this theory is the fact that armorial bearings were *borne on banners* as well as on shields, as we find from the Bayeux tapestry,* and two or three seals before noticed; and as we might well suppose had we no such evidence. No such cause can here have operated to produce bands or any other ornament of which the shield is susceptible. It would be futile to suppose that the figures on the shield preceded the exhibition of any device on the banner: the standard in war is coeval with the shield, and as Wace says of the warriors at Hastings,

“Li barons ourent gonfanons,
Li chevaliers ourent penons.”

To resume the consideration of the inferences to be drawn from the comparison previously suggested. As we have seen good reason to reject the test of a seal to decide whether the owner bore heraldic ensigns or not, we can no longer consider their use confined to the persons who happened to have had them represented on their seals.† When we have proof that the Earls of

* “Some of the standards are striped and spotted in a fashion which may have originated the pales, bars and roundels of the succeeding century.” (Planché) i. e., at the supposed invention or rise of geometrical symbols a hundred years afterwards, these standards disused till then, were resumed, and the Bayeux tapestry resorted to for patterns and examples!

† The heraldic writings of Mr. Planché and Mr. Nichols abound with instances where they are very solicitous to draw a distinction when they find an heraldic symbol on a seal that is “not on a shield.” This peculiarity alone stamps it in their eyes as a non-heraldic bearing, or rather as not a coat of arms but a “badge,” a “device,” or a “cognizance;” and if met with in the 12th century, or even in the next, it is regarded as incipient heraldry, which “afterwards” became developed into a “regular coat of arms.”

Thus in this spirit Mr. Nichols (Herald and Gen. part xxiii. p. 412) mentions a seal of “Simon de Sulldham” temp. Hen. III. “as a bird with wings raised *not on a shield*” and quotes an opinion (without condemning it) that “this device was probably the arms of Shuldham, viz. *azure an eagle displayed* or as borne by his son Hugh de Shuldham, and which are emblazoned on a roll of the lands and tenants at Marham, Norfolk.”

Again, reviewing Laing’s *Ancient Scottish Seals* (H. and G. part xix. p. 16) he says seals “determine by the most authoritative evi-

Pembroke and Richmond, the Countess of Boulogne, the Earl of Anjou, the Earl of Mellent, and by necessary implication, the Earls of Vermandois and Warren, his relatives, and others of similar rank, bore arms in the

dence the real era of the rise and origin of our present system of Armory. Upon these monuments may be frequently traced the same devices, anterior to coat armour, which subsequently formed the hereditary bearings of families, and were used by them for centuries, in some instances to the present day. Thus the arms of Montgomerie (Earls of Eglinton) which are azure three fleurs de lis or, are traced to the seal of their ancestor John Mundegumri which is appended to a charter of the date *circ.* 1176. It bears a single fleur de lis, not however placed upon a shield."

Again: "An early seal of an Innes appended to the homage deed of William Innes, July 10, 1295 has a star not upon a shield. It is inscribed S. WILLI DE INAYS. This star led to the mullets of the coat of Innes which appear alone on the seal of Walter Innes, 1431."

With respect to a single charge being found at early periods on a seal or even described in a roll of arms it is well known that as families increased such single charge was often doubled or tripled to constitute a distinctive coat. The single charge often retained for generations by the head of the house was therefore as much an heraldic bearing as when multiplied. But the eagle or "bird with wings" temp. Hen. III. of Suldham "not on a shield" and the star of Inays of 1295, likewise "not on a shield," are certainly not seals of a period "anterior to coat armour." Why then should the form of the seal affect the character of the device? That in fact the form of the seal, whether a roundel, an oval, a lozenge, or a shield of any shape, either in the 12th century ("anterior to coat armour" as we are to believe) or in the next and following centuries, had nothing to do with the character of the device or charges it exhibited I shall proceed to show, and thereby give room for the just inference that the shape of the seal was owing to the fancy of the engraver. Indeed Mr. Nichols at a subsequent period (H. and G. part xxv. p. 63) finds occasion to question the doctrine that a device on a seal "not placed on a shield" is not heraldic. "The doubt suggests itself" he observes "Were the old seal-engravers scrupulous whether they placed their devices on a shield or not? We think a survey of the Stow-Bardolph series has shown that they were not so."

The seal of Roger de Creuilly (p. 181) exhibits *three lions passant* "not on a shield." The fine seal of Robert de St. John, *circ.* 1200 (p. 193) exhibits *three buckles* "not on a shield." It cannot be pretended that these two seals are not armorial. The beautiful seal of Elizabeth wife of John Lord Bardolf is a large roundel; in the centre, on a heater shaped shield, are the arms of Bardolph; around it are arranged *on roundels* the arms of Castile and Leon, de Clare, Damory, De Burgh, &c. This is engraved in the *Topographer and Genealogist*, (i. 222) and in the *Herald and Gen.* (part xxiii. p. 414.)

early part of the 12th century, the corollary follows that their cotemporaries of equal position possessed the same distinctions; for as we have seen, arms were not borne on shields alone, but on banners also, and every feudal chief carried his gonfanon or pennon, which there is no reason to suppose was in some cases plain, in others charged with a device. There is no proof or presumption that the nobles who we have seen had ensigns, were a privileged or peculiar class, as functionaries of state, nor that persons of only knightly rank, as Conyers and others, whose seals occur in the 12th century, were in any way privileged beyond others of their order, to bear coat armour. We cannot therefore resist the conclusion that both nobles and knights in the middle of the 12th century did, as a military class, exhibit armorial bearings in the field and otherwise.

In the great majority of cases that have come before us, we have been enabled to trace the hereditary descent of the arms borne for generations subsequently, if not always in the male line directly, yet indirectly through females. We are justified, therefore, by an inverse deduction, in tracing backwards to the middle of the 12th century the majority of the coats of the time of Henry III, at least the uncompounded ones in their integrity, and the basis or some element of the others. In this way we arrive at a considerable collection of arms borne in the time of King Stephen. But we have a few direct examples on seals at the era of the Conquest, to say nothing of the evidence of the Bayeux tapestry and of Wace, as well as the proof that most of the genealogical tables

The circular seal of Joan Countess of Warren 1374 exhibits four coats of arms *on lozenges* and four *on quatrefoils*. The seal of Mary Countess of Pembroke, 1347 exhibits three coats *on roundels* and one (impaled, in the centre) *on a shield*. These two are engraved in Boutell's *English Heraldry* and in the *Herald and Gen.* (part xxv. p. 70.) The circular seal of Thomas Lord Furnival temp. Hen. III. exhibits his arms *on a lozenge* (engraved in *Her. and Gen.* part xvi. p. 334.) Lastly, appended to the Barons' Letter to the Pope, the arms of William Paynell are *on a lozenge*, and of Robert Fitz Payne *on an oval*.

These examples surely set at rest the question of whether devices "not placed on a shield" are heraldic or not.

here given present, that certain coats must have been in existence at the time of the Conqueror. And the same reasoning that carries back the armory of the time of Henry III to the time of Stephen, will lead us up, in almost equal cogency to the era of the Conquest.

The argument employed by Mr. Nichols that coat-armour was necessary to distinguish the person is of no force at the time of the Conqueror, or even of King Stephen, for defensive armour to conceal the face was unknown till a later period. This relegation of the era at which heraldic symbols may be proved to have flourished, from the time of John to the time of Stephen, and again to the time of William the first, it might be said may be continued *ad infinitum*. So perhaps it might, and land us at the time of Tacitus and Diodorus Siculus, or at all events at the time of Henry the Fowler, that is, if we were assisted by genealogy; but genealogy with few exceptions stops short at the beginning of the 11th century, and is of little avail even then till the time of the Domesday Survey. But not to press an argument too far, and thereby impair its value, a substantial *locus standi* is given us during the reign of King Stephen. This is said to be the period of the "dawn of heraldry," when we see its "germs" and "rudiments" first appear. But it would be much more correct to predicate of this period, or certainly of that of Henry II, that it was the noonday of the science, that instead of being in its infancy, it had then long attained, in all essential particulars, its full growth; it would be no mere figure of speech to say that what evidence we have of its existence at this era may be likened to a few fragments lying about, the remains of a stately edifice, then in its full integrity and perfection. There is no greater simplicity in the coats we have had under review, than in those of the roll of Henry III (1240-5). The 3 chevrons of Strongbow, the 6 lions of Anjou or Salisbury, the swallows of Arundel, and many others* exhibit the multipli-

* The coats of Tateshall and Pontchastneau (pp. 191-2) comprise combinations which are not exceeded in the roll of Edward II.

cation of a single charge, whilst the composite coats of Conyers and Romara are an early testimony to the practice of gerating; the differences of the bend and the label are seen on the seals of Quincy and Gouviz, and there can be little doubt that the element of colour was as fully developed as afterwards, whilst as early as the roll of Henry III we note the observance of a cardinal rule in Heraldry, viz. not to place metal on metal or colour on colour. The same strict rules of adoption of particular bearings were evidently in as full force in the 12th century, as in the following one: we do not find the royal ensigns taken by those who had no claim of kindred, nor indeed of any other family; the right was evidently jealously preserved; and the ensigns of ancient houses were taken with pride by those allied to them, an evidence of their antiquity and renown. Indeed the want of variety of devices at early periods is one of the most convincing proofs of their antiquity: it appears as if a man at that time thought as little of changing his paternal coat of arms as of changing his hereditary surname, or being called otherwise than by some designation to which he had a territorial or filial right. Were armorial ensigns then of recent adoption, we should with much reason expect a greater variety, and of different kinds.

And what is there in the nature of Heraldry that should make it a progressive science like Chemistry or Geology? It is in fact from its very simple constituents a science that rapidly attains its full growth; it is marked by no advancement like Architecture, from the germ of the hut to the grandeur of the palace. The chief development of which it is susceptible is in the representation of its forms by the gradual progress of art: even here, as in architecture, there is a *ne plus ultra* which the lapse of centuries does not go beyond; the seal engravers, and the architects of the time of Edward III are unequalled in the present day, and an armorial stained window of that age exhibits a radiance and softness of colour, and a beauty of ornament which are rarely imitated in the 19th century.

It now remains to notice and impugn four prevalent theories on the subject, which have impeded the acceptance of the views of the antiquity of heraldry advocated in these pages; concluding this chapter by an argument founded on a comparison of English with Foreign Armory. They are these:—

1. That arms were not hereditary till the early part of the 13th century.

2. That adoption through collateral consanguinity is the explanation of similar contemporary arms, and not derivation from a common ancestor.

3. That Feudal Relationship explains the similarity of arms, where no consanguinity appears.

4. That the Crusades influenced the origin or extension of Armorial Bearings.

I. Mr. Lower in his *Curiosities of Heraldry* (p. 28) says "the best authorities are agreed that coat armour did not become hereditary until the reign of Henry III. and his successor. Before that period 'families kept no constant coat, but gave now this, now that, sometimes their paternal sometimes their maternal or adopted coats, a variation causing much obfuscation in history.'"^{*} Mr. Montagu however in his *Guide to the Study of Heraldry* admits that "in the time of Richard I., Heraldry had become hereditary."

But I propose to show, as far as we can obtain evidence, that it was *always*, as a general rule, hereditary, and that the reverse is only apparent: that a change of arms was exceptional, happening on a person marrying into a higher family whose arms were adopted, and on other rare occasions; and that this deviation from the ancestral bearings was not more common in the reign of Richard the first than in that of Edward III.

The author of the article "Heraldry" in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* says:—

"With respect to the hereditary property of arms, this has not always been observed even since the acknowledged existence of Heraldry, as may be seen in the case of the last two Earls of

* Waterhouse's Discourse, p. 77.

Chester, the two Quincies, Earls of Winchester, and the two Lacies, Earls of Lincoln: no *positively hereditary* bearings have been found in England before Henry the third's time."

Now what are the facts? Ranulph Earl of Chester, who died 1155, married Maud sister of William Earl of Gloucester, on whose seal was a *lion passant*. On the seal of Ranulph was a *lion rampant*, he evidently adopting the arms of the family of his wife, who was granddaughter of Henry I. We have no authentic knowledge of the arms borne by Ranulph's son and heir, Hugh Cyvelioc who died 1180. But *his* son Ranulph Blundevil, who died s. p. 1231, bore according to Glover's Roll of Arms, as "Le Comte de Chester, *d'azur a trois garbes d'or*. Probably one or three garbs were borne too by his father, and also by his grandfather, before he assumed the arms of Maud his wife, and it is further probable that Gherbod the first Earl of Chester, created by William the Conqueror, imposed the canting arms attributed to him, viz. *a garb*, on the Earldom. The next Earl, John Scot, was of a *different family* from the preceding, and bore other arms, as also was the next and last Earl, Edmund Plantagenet.

Saher de Quincy, created Earl of Winchester 1210 exhibits on his seal two coats, viz. a fess with a label, and a fess between 2 chevrons. The first might have been his paternal coat or more probably his mother's Maud de St. Liz. The second seems to be that of his step-father Robert Fitz Richard, ancestor of Fitz Walter who bore that coat. The wife of Saher was Margaret sister and coheir of Robert Earl of Leicester, whose seal exhibits a cinquefoil. On the seal of Margaret are a cinquefoil, a mascle, 7 mascles, and the arms of Fitz Walter. This seal shows that it was sometimes the practice to place on the seal the arms of near relatives. The 7 mascles on her seal might therefore be the arms (and probably were) of her husband Saher. Their son Robert de Quincy bore according to the Roll of Arms *Gules a cinquefoil ermine* whilst the eldest son Roger de Quincy Earl of Winchester exhibits on a seal 7 mascles and a cinquefoil. The 7 mascles are also on the seal of Robert Fitz Walter

(along with his own arms) who married Alianor daughter of Margaret, who was d. and coh. of Roger de Quincy.

John de Lacy was created Earl of Lincoln, and died 1240. He bore quarterly, over all a bend, and a label. This coat was evidently derived from his grandfather John de Lacy, who married Alice de Vere. Edmund de Lacy his son and heir never used the title, and I am not aware that his arms are known. But Henry de Lacy *his* son and heir, Earl of Lincoln, bore according to the Roll of Carlaverock *or a lion rampant purpure. Jure uxoris* he was also Earl of Salisbury. She and her ancestors bore 6 lions rampant; probably in respect of this match he assumed the purple lion, the unusual colour distinguishing it from the numerous lions borne at this period by the nobility and others. He died in 1312 a time when all writers admit that hereditary bearings were fully established, though as before remarked, there were as many departures at this period from hereditary practice as a century previously.

Having noticed these instances on the negative side of the question, I will now bring forward cases of my own to show positively that arms *were* hereditary from the earliest known period.

Two members of the family of Conyers in the 12th century bore a *Maunche*, which was the subsequent bearing of the family for generations (*vide* p. 178).

A seal of Richard de Lucy, before 1153, displays a fish or luce, which the family bore for centuries afterwards (p. 178).

Waleran Earl of Mellent who died 1166 bore chequy, which was continued by his family long afterwards (p. 179). Robert Earl of Leicester bore chequy temp. Richard I. deriving it from the same ancestor as Waleran. The families of De Warren, Clinton, and Newburgh, all bore chequy, deriving it as in the two last cases from their ancestor the Earl of Vermandois (*Ibid.*).

Baldwin Earl of Devon, who died 1155, bore a griffin, as did his son and grandson, Earls of Devon. The latter bore also a lion rampant which he derived from his mother, a granddaughter of Henry I. And this monarch

was the source of the lion or lions borne by his descendants Wm. Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Chester, and Roger de Creully. (p. 179.)

Geoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, who died 1151, bore 6 lions rampant; this was the coat of his descendants the Earls of Salisbury for several generations (p. 184).

Rohais widow of Gilbert de Gaunt, who died 1156, sealed with 5 chevrons; so did her daughter Alice (p. 186).

Swallows were borne on the shield of an Arundel temp. Henry II., and have ever since been their bearings. (p. 187.)

Gilbert de Clare who died 1148 sealed with 3 chevrons: this well known bearing has ever since been used by his descendants, as also by the Earls of Hertford and the family of Montfichet descended from his father. (p. 199.)

The families of Braose, Bruce and Breuzé descended from Robert de Brus who died 1094 all bore a lion rampant. (p. 202.)

These examples are sufficient, but the preceding genealogical tables exhibit numerous cases of families descended from a common ancestor living in the 12th or 11th century all bearing substantially the same arms with differences of colour or otherwise. FitzWarine and Burwardesleigh; FitzWilliam and Rockley; Dawtry and Percy; D'Albini and Mowbray,—bore identical coats, and were derived from common ancestors. Aubrey de Vere temp. Henry I transmitted his honoured coat of Quarterly to his descendants, the great families of Say and Beauchamp, Lacy and Mandeville.

The catalogue of Seals of early periods will supply many other instances where the same arms were borne by the same family in the 12th and 13th centuries as in the succeeding centuries.

II. The second of these theories is the one propounded by Mr. Nichols (p. 3) to supersede the conclusion that is obvious on finding similar coats borne by persons de-

scended from a common ancestor living at the time of the Conquest.* This suggested solution of a difficulty may be considered practically and theoretically. Practically, what do we find? Let us take the coat of Chequy. Temp. Richard I or later we find this coat borne by the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Warren and the Earl of Warwick; and in France, by the descendants of the Earls of Mellent, by the Earls of Vermandois, and the lords of Beaugency. That collateral adoption at this period from whatever source, is not the explanation, earlier seals are evidence. As we have no early seal of the Earl of Vermandois, and the earliest of this chequy coat is that of his son-in-law the Earl of Mellent, and the next that of the Earl of Leicester, we should be puzzled to know whom to fix on as the *fons et origo* of the presumed borrowed coats. We have five earls, cotemporary bearers of this distinguished coat of arms, two of them with foreign titles. The English earls would hardly adopt the ensigns of a French cousin, though a great personage, nor *vice versâ*. That there was however collateral adoption is considered a necessary consequence of the rejection of an alternative that involves a position Mr. Nichols regards as quite untenable. But after all, both alternatives are theories: the one necessitates a complexity of probabilities, and conflicts with universal notions of the pride, self-love, and jealousy of great men; the other is simply the recognition of armorial bearings at the conquest, and the derivation of half a dozen similar devices from a common ancestor of all

* This explanation is the natural offspring of those views of language religion and customs which prevailed till Geology Philology and Archæological discoveries lengthened prodigiously the vista of the remote Past and threw back the Antiquity of Man into a prehistoric period whose duration we have not even approximate means of measuring. Until these enlarged views arose the Hebrew was supposed to be the parent of all languages; the Chinese were thought to have borrowed their civilization from the Egyptians, or *vice versâ*; and generally the customs, the arts, the religion of one country were conceived to have been taken from those of another; derivation from a common source being an opinion rarely hazarded as the explanation of the cotemporary existence of any usage, in different and widely-separated countries.

the bearers. Which then of the two theories is the most conformable to all the facts of the case, and to probability? The same alternatives are presented in similar cases. Did the potent Earls of Pembroke and Clare take their coat of 3 chevrons from each other, or from the Count of Hainault, who bore the same; or did they all derive it from a common ancestor? Which was the original bearer of the Quarterly coat of De Vere? Was it Say, or Mandeville, or Lacy, or Beauchamp, or was it De Vere, from whom all, or their wives were descended? In this case we have an element that promises to elucidate the question. The coat of De Vere contains a mullet. This Mr. Planché says indicates a younger son, though this mark of cadency (which applies to the third son, and Robert de Vere the first known bearer of this coat was a second son) at this period was certainly unknown as such. The mullet does not appear in any of the other coats of quarterly. Why is this? I will offer an explanation that, at the same time, I think shows who first bore this envied coat, and how all the rest who bore it derived it from him through descent. Aubrey de Vere, temp. Henry I had the Great Chamberlainship of England conferred on him, that was before held by Robert Malet. That Malet's coat of arms should have contained or have been a mullet, is probable from analogy, and further probable from being borne in the arms of Peyton, whose ancestor was a Malet. Was not then the mullet in the arms of De Vere a sign or symbol connected with his holding the office of Chamberlain, because the heraldic and allusive cognizance of Robert Malet his predecessor?

Theoretically considered, forcible objections start up in our path. If we had some positive evidence of the recent origin of armorial bearings, as the testimony of contemporary writers (which we nowhere meet with, but on the contrary, where they are mentioned there is no remark that they are novel) or of the utter absence of any thing of the sort in former times; if there were proof of their being a novelty of their kind, as postage stamps are in our own day, we should be driven to explain the

cotemporary use of similar devices by accidental coincidence of choice, or by collateral adoption in the case of relatives, or by feudal imitation: but what better claim on our notice has the second explanation than a similar one to account for the same unusual Christian name being borne by distant cousins, when in three cases out of four it is owing to lineal inheritance, and not to adoption from collateral sources? At the period, viz. at the end of the 12th century, when it is said heraldry became general, and was adopted by persons of knightly rank, we may fairly compute their number in England at not less than 2000, including Barons. A century later, the roll of arms of Edward II gives the blazonry of upwards of 1100 Earls, Barons, and Knights, arranged in counties. This roll certainly does not enumerate one half of the Baronage or Knightage of the time, probably not more than one third; and we can't presume their number to have been so great during the previous century. We are called upon then to believe that of this large number, 2000, the greater part, in conforming to the fashion that had sprung up, depicted on their shields devices resembling those of their feudal lords, or of the heads of their families. The former source of derivative coats will be examined presently. Doubtless a majority of the knights of the reign of Richard I were first or second cousins to some potent Baron; but a considerable number though descended from perhaps a Domesday tenant of importance, and others, comparatively *novi homines*, must have been unable to boast of near kindred of a higher status than their own. Whose armorial bearings was this large class to adopt? It is true that some of these could assume *armes parlantes*, and at an early period we have proofs that they did; but at best their number could be but limited, as family nomenclature in only select cases admits of it.

But as we may imagine, even in the supposed infancy of heraldry, devices when once adopted, would not be permitted to be imitated by those having no authorized right, those knights who could not claim near relationship to a great earl or baron would have to find emblems that

had not been appropriated. A vast range of objects was open to their choice, without infringing on the selections already made. Accordingly, we should expect to find in the Ordinaries of Arms an infinite variety of charges having such an origin. But we do not; the number of distinct symbols is remarkably limited. Here the necessary consequences of the theory in question are the reverse of coinciding with the facts of the case. Again, if this theory were the true explanation of the cotemporary use of the same bearings at the era of their first adoption, it follows that on meeting on seals of this period with similar devices we should at once pronounce their bearers scions of one house. In the foregoing pages many such are to be found; are their owners relatives? Hubert de Anesty and Saher de Quincy both bore a fess, yet were not related; Sir Adam de Bendenges and Sir Alan fitz Brian both bore three bars, yet were evidently strangers in blood, for we happen to know the parentage of all four. But however feasible and conceivable it may be to group similar bearings together and assign them one family origin, it will not account for them out of such family circles. This theory will not explain the existence of Chequy in England and France, nor of Bendy in Burgundy and Normandy, nor of other similar emblems throughout Europe. It might explain their adoption *in each country*; but it is a theory that again "proves too much," and leads to this not very probable conclusion,—That the great men of half-a-dozen kingdoms, having no connection or relationship, should have spontaneously and simultaneously fixed on such unmeaning marks as geometrical divisions to distinguish their banners and shields on the field of battle.

III. The theory of derivative coats, having been adopted by mesne tenants from their feudal superiors is a theory* so generally held, and appears so feasible and

* Camden in his "Remaines" says "Whereas the Earles of Chester bore garbes or wheatsheafes, many gentlemen of that countrey took wheatsheafes. Whereas the old Earles of Warwick bore chequy or and azure a chevron ermine, many thereabout took ermine and chequy." But the Collections of Pedigrees in Ormerod's

so supported by facts, that its unsoundness can only be shown by a somewhat elaborate refutation. As a theory, undoubtedly, like many other plausible theories, facts may be selected to corroborate it. Like the popular notions of comets producing hot summers, and changes of the moon influencing the weather, certain resemblances are in its favour. But as these notions are found by science not to be based on the relation of cause and effect, so the theory in question will be found on examination to be wanting in that necessary connection. Cases have been taken where the lord and the tenant bore a similar coat: the fact has led to the inference that the feudal relationship was the cause of the resemblance or imitation: the fact has been generalized regardless of strict induction, and the inference has followed the process: no note has been taken of the great mass of cases where the arms of the lord and the tenant *do not* resemble. And it is a remarkable peculiarity of the logic of the question, that whilst the inductive method has been employed to produce the opinion universally held, but by no means to its full and scientific extent, the reverse method, generally of no avail, but here singularly applicable, *viz.* a *priori* reasoning, has been altogether lost sight of, or its employment would at once have invalidated the conclusions so confidently made. For every topographer well knows that a tenant in *copse* was frequently sub-tenant to one or more tenants in *copse*, that sub-tenants who were not tenants in *copse*, held of different chiefs in different countries: that by marriage, sale, forfeiture and exchange, facts both large and small constantly changed hands. How then could the tenant be said to have adopted his coat armor from his feudal lord? Whose of two or more chiefs was he to imitate? Whose arms were the numerous tenants of the King to take? What ensigns could be adopted by the vassal of an abbot, or the feudatory of a bishop? At the Domesday Survey it may be fairly presumed that the great mesne tenants were sons or sons in law of their chief lord. The Here-

Cheshire shows that very few comparatively bore wheatsheafs in that county.

ditary tenants recorded a century afterwards, in the *Liber Niger*, were of course more distantly related, in many cases not at all: the relationship became more remote in the next record, viz. the *Testa de Nevill*, temp. Henry III. Between the two periods we get at the era, temp. Richard I. said to be the time of the general introduction of armorial bearings. One half at least of the tenants of the time of Henry III. may be presumed to have inherited their fees from an ancestor living temp. Henry II. What correspondence then do we find temp. Henry III. between the arms of the mesne tenants and their lords? Take the case of the tenants of the Earl of Warren in Sussex, who were 19 in number. Only one of these families has chequy assigned to it, and that is Pierpoint, who there is reason to believe inherited it from an alliance with the family of his chief. The same want of general coincidence as far as can be traced will appear on examination in other instances.* But there *are* coincidences,—coincidences to be explained by alliance, as in the case of Sir Malger de Stanton a tenant of the “great Lord Albany,” and *also his son-in-law*; and that of Sir Gilbert Peche, whose wife was a sister of the great baron Robert fitz Walter, whose arms he adopted.†

* The two instances generally given in heraldic works as exemplifying the practice, are the Earls of Chester and the Earls of Leicester, whose tenants it is said adopted their chief's device viz. in the former case a garb, and in the latter a cinquefoil. To verify the theory therefore it should be shown by examples (from seals or rolls) that in the case of the Earls of Chester, the last of whom bore garbs, being Ranulph Blundevil who died 1231, their tenants bore garbs likewise before that period; and in the case of the Earls of Leicester, that their tenants who bore cinquefoils should trace their bearings to a not later period than 1204, when Robert fitz Parnell Earl of Leicester, who died that year, was the last or only known Earl who bore a cinquefoil, the next two Earls, Simon de Montfort father and son, both bearing a lion rampant double queued.

† Mr. Surtees in his *History of Durham* (iv. 62) has these observations: “The arms of Balliol afford a complete instance of the *imitative* system of assuming armorial bearings, which prevailed during the early period of the feudal system. Thus Bartram Baron of Mitford married the daughter of Guy le Pálnart of the race of Baliol, and bore *or an orle azure*. L'Espring also there is little

But there are undoubtedly cases of resemblance between the arms of the great Earl and the dependent knight that are not owing to marriage. These would seem to be when the tenant held his lands by virtue of performing the duties of some office to his superior, as steward, chamberlain, and so on. Hence this close connexion was allowed to adopt his own-arms wholly or partially. Thus John de Arden temp. John held with *three garbs* (p. 126) the arms of the Earl of Chester his feudal lord: whilst the arms borne by his knights and *deservientes* were altogether different.* Again, Ralph, Earl of Chester gave to Walter de Bole certain lands, to which were probably attached certain official duties. John de Bole the *deservient* placed in his seal a garb on either side of his arms (p. 126). And Mr. Drummond in his *History of British Feudal Law* gives another case in point in the following words:—

"A branch of the noble House of de Burgh (Hempnys) became extinct and the house married the John de Bole. His arms were a *tree* and a *mountain*, but after the marriage he changed both these arms, and the wife carried over the arms of the then Earl of Warwick, the mount, retaining unchanged the *tree* of the *mountain* and *tree*. Given a few years before 1200. He was at the time during the minority of the new Governor of Warwick Castle."

This is a striking case in point and shows the cause and meaning of the adoption of his lord's armorial bearings. If it were a feudal tenant simply that he took

doubt nearly everywhere was the shield of Bala, three *balls* on a *gold argent* (afterwards changed to an *iron* of *barre*). But individuals claiming no relationship with the house of de Burgh were not only fully entitled, and indeed proud, to use a shield whose pattern of the bearing of the *feudal lord*. The names were so familiar of the House of Barnard added to the gold *armes* about the exact arms of Bala on a *vacant* place in the 12th c. • • • Barnard of Barnard Castle bore a *tree* on the *gold*. Alexander Ball of Cavers bore the *tree* and the *gold* place. Ball of Barnard and Ingelram Ball retained the *tree* place with an *iron* of *armes*, whilst Eustace of Combermere bore a *tree* on a *gold* place. More references might be gathered out of ancient chronicles. The equestrian seal of Eustace Ballin has an *armes* on the shield, but the shield of Hugh his *successor* (the 12th c.) is the same."

* Topographical and Genealogical, part III.

† Mr. Montagu's Work.

them, others who were in that position would have followed his example; and every time the lord changed his coat-armour, or there was a new lord of a different family, the tenants must have changed theirs in conformity also,—a state of things that must evidently have caused perpetual confusion. In fact one of the great purposes served by heraldic ensigns was to symbolize fiefs or lordships;* and numerous seals, as we have seen, exhibit two or three shields to denote not only alliances, but the properties accruing with them.†

If any evidence were still desired that the mesne lord did not, as a customary practice or as a privilege, imitate the insignia of his feudal chief, it would be afforded in the instances given by Mr. Lower in his *Curiosities of Heraldry* (P. 34) where the Lord Audley as a special favour, and reward for their valour at Poitiers, allowed four of his esquires to bear his own fretty in their coat armour; and the case of the Baron of Greystoke who,

* Thus Ralph de Monthermer jure ux. Earl of Gloucester, at the siege of Caerlaverock led his followers on that occasion under the banner of Clare Earl of Gloucester, whilst he was himself vested in a surcoat of his paternal arms, which he also bore on his shield.

† Madox in his *Formulare Anglicanum* (p. 124) gives the following quotation from an "ancient treatise of armory" in Bibl. Cott. Nero C 3: "Sunt generosi et multi nobiles qui portant in suis armis fusulos; de quorum numero fuit Dominus meus specialissimus, qui portavit tres fusulos rubios in campo argentario; quæ quidem arma portavit ratione certarum terrarum ad Baroniam de Monte acuto pertinentium."

Patrick Earl of March sealed with a lion rampant, also with a lion rampant with a bordure of roses, which Nisbet says (ii. 3) was a badge of his comital office (Drummond's *British Families*).

John son of Peter de Neville of Wimeswould co. Leic., according to the roll of arms temp. Edward II, bore crusilly three leopards' heads jessant de lis—the basis of which evidently came from Cantalupe, who had an interest in the manor. "These arms" remarks Mr. Drummond "seem to have been territorial, for all the families which owned the manor of Wimeswould bore the same. (Ibid.)

The seal of Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G. (1426) exhibits the shield of Hungerford; and on either side of it are banners of the arms of Heytesbury and Hussey, the latter derived from his mother, and the former belonging to the lordship of Heytesbury, which had been purchased by his father in 6 Richard II. The seal is figured in Boutell's *English Heraldry*, and in the *Herald and Genealogist* (part xxv p. 76).

20 Edw. III grants as a mark of distinction a portion of his own bearings to Adam de Blencowe, to be borne in lieu of his former coat.*

IV. There is no opinion more generally or confidently expressed in works on Heraldry than that the Crusades, if they did not entirely originate the practice of armorial devices, yet gave the custom the full extension and development which it is supposed to have attained at the end of the 12th century. This opinion seems to have been formed 1. from the fact recorded that, if not before yet during the Crusade under Richard I and Philip of France, heraldic symbols were in general use: and 2. from the circumstance of the prevalence of the cross, the crosslet, the crescent and the escallop in European blazonry, that these emblems were then first assumed as significant symbols of warfare by the Christian against the Mahomedan. Now Geffry de Vinsauf in his "Itinerary" of Richard I, speaks of the Crusaders as wear-

* The feudal mode of derivation would in the first instance, at the Conquest, or a century afterwards, have been a simple and regular mode of developing a system of armorial devices from simple elements, if the feudal system itself had been as simple as is sometimes supposed, and as in fact is implied by those who hold this theory of development of coat armour. If the great tenants *in capite* had their fiefs clearly defined like counties, and their mesne tenants theirs, like parishes, and there was no plurality or intermixture of tenure, nothing could have been simpler or more harmonious than the institution of armory upon such principles. But as we have seen, no such simplicity actually characterised the system, and nothing but confusion could have resulted from any attempt at a science of heraldry based on the actual state of things. There are other modes of originating an hierarchical system of personal symbols which might be carried out in the present day, but which was not practicable in the time of Henry II, nor it seems was any system but what actually prevailed, and had grown up as it were naturally without any central or authoritative arrangement or constitution. For example, a *military* system, symbols being appropriated to the gradations of ranks of the army. Some such distinctions for the different orders of the state introduced during the time of the first Empire are indicated in French armory by some charge on a canton or a chief superadded to the personal arms, in the same way as we have the arms of Ulster as the badge of the Baronets placed upon their shield.

Anglo-Normans, this enquiry would be perhaps an unprofitable one; but as we have the opportunity of comparing Anglo-Norman armory with that of most European countries, such a comparison immediately suggests itself as a means of explaining the anomaly.

If then we turn our attention to the heraldry of Germany we find *there* the horse,* stag,† wolf, bull, bear, boar, and goat, not rarely, but frequently, amongst the coats of the nobles of the Empire, intermixed it is true with parti-coloured shields, and others containing lions, crescents, escallops, etc.‡ In Poland, we find another class of emblems wanting in England, and also in Germany: 160 families have a horse shoe in their shield; many have swans, but the predominant charges are axes, spears, cutlasses, etc.§ The Spaniards exhibit crescents, letters of the alphabet, swords, fig-leaves, chains, rabbits, bulls, foxes, bears, wolves, and lions, whilst the horse is rare.|| In Italian armory the serpent

* The horse was the ancient ensign of the Dukes of Saxony and also of the Electorate of Hanover.

† The stag does not occur amongst the insignia of any of the ancient English Barons or Knights. It is met with as arms or crest in the Sussex families of Whiligh, Courthope, Warnett, and Bysshe. Perhaps these inherited their bearings from Saxon dispossessed proprietors. And probably many of the armorial emblems of the Saxon thanes are to be found amongst the ancient arms of the minor gentry of England.

The swan occurs amongst the heraldic insignia of the royal family of Denmark. Sweyn was the name of one of their early monarchs. Adam Fitz Swein was a considerable proprietor in Yorkshire in the 12th century. The Kentish family of Swan bear 3 swans in their arms. Possibly one of this family gave name to Swanscombe in that county.

‡ *Vide* Spener, *Insignia Familie Saxonica* 4to. Frankfurt 1668.

§ *Menestrier Origine des Armoiries.*

|| Argote enumerates twelve families who charge the chains of Navarre. Thirty-two families took the miraculous cross, which appeared to the Spaniards at Tolosa for their arms. The Saltire was assumed by thirty-five families of Castile, and thirty-two of Navarre at the taking of Baeza in 1227, which occurred on St. Andrew's day. * * One of the peculiarities of Spanish heraldry is the introduction of words and letters on the shield. * * The crescent is borne by many families. Thus the symbol of Astarte, Venus, and the emblem of Mahomet are revived in the type of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, the Diana of Ephesus of Spain.

and other objects seldom met with in England, are found, though its general characteristics resemble those of France and England, but with greater variety of combination and charge.* We have thus some materials

Canting arms are very frequent. The Aquilars assumed the eagle. The Figeroas took the fig-leaves, a most ancient charge, which Freron maintains in many folios was borne by Adam after the fall. Henninges describes the arms of the second or Libyan branch of Spanish Kings, 3 rabbits rampant. The rabbit is indigenous and was impressed on Spanish coins. The market at Rome was supplied with them from Cadiz. Hispania even has been derived from *sephan*, the rabbit, which the Phœnicians saw there for the first time. Cities took their arms from miraculous events. The generality of ordinaries [? charges] are of a religious, military, or hunting character as bulls, lions, foxes, bears, wolves. The horse is rare, though their Iberian ancestors impressed a mounted lancer with a star or crescent on their coins, whilst the Carthaginians at Cadiz used the horse as a figure head.—*Quarterly Review*, June, 1838.

* Keating's *History of Ireland* gives engravings of arms of native Irish families. These are strikingly different, many of them, from Anglo-Norman devices. The following list shows the prevalence of the "bloody hand of Ulster" in their bearings, which we have seen (p. 45) is found on Irish coins in the 11th century; as also the boar, and combatant lions holding a sword or axe in their paws,—all characteristic of Hibernian blazonry:—

More, Earl of Clancarty—Stag trippant.

O'Donochos—2 foxes combatant.

O'Carrilla—2 lions rampant holding a sword.

O'Neales—2 lions rampant holding a hand.

O'Kellys—2 lions rampant supporting a tower.

Maguires—A man in armour on horseback.

Macgeoghegans—Lion rampant between 3 hands.

O'Daniel—2 lions rampant holding a hand, between 3 mullets.

O'Callaghans—A wolf issuing from a wood.

O'Donovans—A hand holding a sword, encircled by a serpent.

O'Breannons—2 lions rampant holding a wheatsheaf.

O'Meaghirs—2 lions rampant holding a sword.

O'Loughlins—A man in armour drawing a bow.

O'Connor—A stag at gaze.

MacEnierys (Erne)—An eagle.

Nearns—A griffin segreant holding in each paw a key.

Froyhins—2 griffins combatant.

Bryams—A chevron between 3 boars.

MacSwynys—A fess between 3 boars.

O'Crulie—A boar between 3 cross crosslets.

Cuillens—A chevron between 3 hands.

O'Deas—A hand holding a dagger between 2 serpents.

O'Quins—The same, and 2 crescents.

at hand that promise to explain the anomalies met with in early Anglo-Norman heraldry. But what interpretation shall we put on this diversity amongst nations in their choice, or more correctly, their use of armorial bearings? Shall we suppose a Congress of Nations to settle what symbols each should adopt and confine themselves to? If such a visionary scheme should for a moment be imagined, it would not meet the difficulties of the case. Geometrical arms and lions seem to have prevailed over the greater part of Europe.* That the latter should, on this theory, be chosen simultaneously may not be surprising; but that the former should, *is* remarkable; for as we have seen, the theory of derivation from the fastenings of the shield is untenable. We have seen that the royal lion or leopard of England was proudly borne by all those families whose alliance with royalty sanctioned its use. How is it that the lion is also found, in the supposed infancy of heraldry, as the bearing of many English nobles not so connected? How is it that the fleur de lis, the chosen symbol of the French kings is found frequently in the arms of English families in the 13th century, who were not, and could not be descended from Louis le Jeune, who it is said first assumed it in

O'Malley—A boar.

O'Mullen—A hand holding a dagger between 3 crescents.

MacMurrough—A lion rampant holding a battle axe.

O'Brenon—A lion rampant, and 2 hands in chief.

MacSwynies—2 boars combatant—in chief 2 battle axes saltier wise.

* The intermixture of races and families throughout Europe would of course produce an intermixture of their armorial symbols with those of the people where they settled; and probably Heraldry is destined to aid the investigation of the migration and settlement of certain races. But peoples of distinct origin will be found to have had distinct kinds of symbols.

"The gradual intermixture of the Teutonic nations with those which had been civilized by the Romans, and the ultimate settlement of the Normans in France, produced from the combination of military distinctions, the beautiful theory of Chivalrous Heraldry, which arose by so nice gradations that it is easier to trace its advancement than to assign its origin; although even the former is not minutely practicable in illiterate ages."—*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, art. "Heraldry."

the middle of the 12th century? At the pretended era of the birth of Heraldry, whose beginnings are said to be irregular and rudimentary, we find, as a general rule amongst different nations, a studious adherence to certain unmeaning forms, a rigorous partiality for a few limited symbols, and an obviously intentional avoidance of others. It cannot be supposed that this was by concert,* no more than it can be supposed that it was by

* Mr. Planché (p. 5) says "In the 12th century armorial bearings seem to have been adopted *with one accord* throughout Europe;" and (p. 71) "The Norman monarch of England, the Kings of Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, the native princes of Wales, the Dukes of Normandy, the Counts of Flanders, Holland, Hainault, etc., all about the same period, i. e. sooner or later during the 12th century, appear *as with one accord* to have displayed the lion as a device if not as a positive heraldic bearing: and that the lions of England may owe their origin to the assumption of one as a badge or cognisance by Henry I, previous to 1127, is exceedingly probable, for the following reasons: John of Salisbury tells us that Henry was surnamed the Lion of Justice, and Mr. Sharon Turner in his History of England, remarks that this epithet was taken from the pretended prophecies of Merlin, which were then in great fashion and circulation. After two Dragons, said Merlin, the Lion of Justice shall come, at whose roaring the Gallic Towers and island Serpents shall tremble. Such a surname would be sufficient to induce him to assume a lion for his badge, independent of any other motive [!]. It may be also worth noticing that Henry's favourite residence in Normandy, and the place where he died, was in the forest of Lions, near a little town of that name, and that his second wife Adeliza, whom he married in 1121, was daughter of Godfrey first Duke of Lorraine, of which duchy the allusive arms were eventually [!] also a lion."

These fancies are from the author of a work entitled "*Heraldry founded on Facts!*"

With respect to the kings and nobles above mentioned who Mr. Planché says "appear all with one accord" to have adopted the lion for their heraldic device in the 12th century, if true both in the statement and the motive assigned, it is one of the most remarkable cases of simultaneous movement acting under a common inspiration since the days of the Apostles. But however the fact, if capable of proof, may be accounted for, it proves too much, more evidently than Mr. Planché intended, for the preceding pages give a score of instances, showing that humbler persons than kings and counts *also* bore or took the lion for an heraldic device at the period in question: and there is one little fact rather damaging to the theory of royal and princely personages as such adopting the "king of beasts" as a personal emblem, viz. that the kings of France bore the simple fleur de lis: but of course *exceptio probat regulam*.

concert that a Welchman was called Mathew *ap* Herbert, and an Anglo-Norman, Mathew *fitz* Herbert. What solution then remains to reconcile all difficulties, and explain all anomalies, but the simple one of Inheritance—inheritance through centuries from Teutonic and Gallic and other ancestors?

But all this reasoning—all these comparisons—the testimonies of early mediæval authorities—the resemblance of Greek and Roman symbols, and of Oriental devices—of almost every Heraldic bearing on ancient and mediæval coins to the charges of admitted “Coats of Arms,”—are of no avail with the school of Mr. Planché and Mr. Nichols. The latter gentleman indeed begins his inquiry into the “Origin and Development of Coat Armour” (p. 5), by these dogmatic and most illogical sentences:—

“We consider it fruitless to inquire whether any other devices in any other part of the world have at any time *resembled* our system of armory. It is sufficient to know that the latter was not derived from them, nor had any connection with them whatever.”*

How do we “know” that there was no connection between the two systems? Before making such a bold assertion, Mr. Nichols was surely bound to produce some facts or the strongest negative and circumstantial evidence to prove that such a connection was impossible or improbable. What would be thought of the archæologist who should confidently declare that Buddhist emblems found on sculptured stones in Scotland, and on British and Saxon coins of the early mediæval period, had *no* connection with precisely similar symbols met with in the East; that they sprung up spontaneously in the West, and not by inheritance and transmission from the opposite quarter of the globe? What would be thought of the philologist who should affirm that the Greek and Latin tongues had *no* connection with the Sanskrit, nor were of cognate

* Mr. Boutell in his *English Heraldry* uses similar language. He says “the heraldry of antiquity is to be regarded as the predecessor not as the ancestor of the heraldry of England. There may be much that is common to both, but there is nothing to show [?] the later system to have been a descendant of the earlier.”

origin, although a majority of the roots of all three languages are identical? If between the ancient and modern practice there were an absolute gap of several centuries—a total blank—during which neither the custom nor any detail of it was heard of, mentioned, or left any trace behind, it would still be most remarkable that the two systems in minute observances should be so similar; and cautious inquirers would be slow to pronounce an opinion adverse to a derivation of one from the other. There are it is true some inventions and customs springing up in widely separated countries, and at great intervals of time, which arose independently. Such are the inventions of gunpowder and printing amongst the Chinese and in Europe: and the same may be said of some scientific discoveries.

But in the case before us, although as previously remarked, the early mediæval period—the “dark ages” from the 5th to the 11th centuries—was very unproductive in art or literature, and has left few remains behind, we notwithstanding get glimpses here and there of heraldic emblems; we have from the *Notitia Imperii* the cohort devices of the Imperial legions, which contain many of the elements of modern coat armour; we have the same elements on coins; we have in the *Leges Hastiludiales* of Henry the Fowler, statutes regulating the use of family ensigns (whatever they might be). We have in the 11th century the evidence of the Bayeux tapestry, which we have seen to exhibit shields with devices; and when we arrive at the end of the 12th century, when Heraldry is said to have begun anew, as by a metempsychosis, its infant life in Europe, after having lain dormant since the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the evidence we have of what were the bearings then is such as shows anything but a new science, that “was not derived from or had any connection whatever” with the devices on the bucklers of the Greeks and the shields of the Romans; but on the contrary reproduces them, many of them almost exactly, and others in combinations of the same elements, whilst the rest correspond with the descriptions of the painted shields borne by the ancient

Germans and Gauls as testified by Tacitus and Diodorus Siculus.

But so untenable and assailable was the dogma laid down by Mr. Nichols as quoted (in March 1865) that in the *Herald* for Nov. 1866 he qualifies it by the following not very unequivocal language (part xx p. 154):

"In the 10th and 11th centuries there were in fact no armorial bearings whatever: * or [!] if [!] at that era any particular symbols or particular colours can be identified as having distinguished certain nations, tribes, or *families* [!] such can only be accepted as *the connecting link* [*sic* in italics] between our heraldry and that which has been termed by analogy the heraldry of the earlier ages of the world."

This "connecting link," to interpret the author's meaning fairly, may be likened to a narrow isthmus that joins two large continents. We are to understand apparently, that the only tie between the ancient and modern systems of Heraldry, was the prevalence of the arms of "certain nations and tribes" and possibly of a few distinguished "families," which like the Trojans—

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto ;
Arma virum tabulæque :————

"National arms,† and even certain tribal armorial in-

* Mr. Montagu in his work on Heraldry has these remarks (p. 14): "I conceive that down to the Conquest we have no proof of heraldic bearings having become of general use, still less that heraldry had become a science. There is every probability that Heraldry was first known in the German Tournaments which were so frequent in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the reign of the second William there is every reason to believe that heraldic distinctions began to be introduced."

What has "general use" to do with the *origin* of a custom? The "general use" of Tea and Tobacco in this country was a century after their introduction. As to the date of heraldry becoming a "science" there is proof enough from the examples we have, that in the time of Henry II it was as much a science as a century later. And the *Leges Hastiludiales* of the 10th century show the existence of stringent "regulations" concerning the bearing of coat armour which *imply* a system and a science.

† Coexistent with regular coat armour kings and nobles assumed and used, to commemorate incidents or illustrate a sentiment, emblematical or allegorical devices which were dropped and changed according to fancy.

signia, as the raven of the Danes and the white horse of the Saxons, all heraldic writers admit to have existed during the entire mediæval period. To these, however, they do not allow any other designation than that of a badge, a cognizance, or a device, as excluding a *system* composed of diversified materials, and subject to regulations in the use. But this concession or qualification comprehends a vast deal more than is intended by its authors. The number of tribes which *History records* as existing in Europe alone at any one time during the first ten centuries of the Christian era amounts to hundreds; and the number of petty tribes and independent chieftains whose names are lost to us must have been tenfold.* The number of distinct heraldic devices borne

Richard Cœur de Lion is said to have used for his device "a mailed arm holding a shining lance" with the motto *Labor vires con-venit*. He is also said to have used "a sun on two anchors" with the motto *Christo Duce*. King Stephen as Count of Blois is said to have sealed with the figure of a Centaur, the ensign of the city of Blois. (Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, where may be seen an account of the different badges and supporters used by the sovereigns of England.)

Wm. Mauduit temp. Hen. III sealed likewise with a Centaur. Wm. de Braose lord of Bramber who died 1326 sealed with this device,—a lion passant sinister holding a bird in his paws, at his feet a cross moline, with a bird on the top of his tail.

The royal arms of Spain have undergone many changes. * * Each sovereign assumed a separate and strictly personal device. The feminine gentle Isabella selected a bundle of arrows tied together, the emblem of the union of the crowns. The jealous despotic Ferdinand chose the yoke which he imposed on subject and Moor, and to mark his equality with his Castilian Queen he added the motto *tanto monta*, the true etymology of our word *tantamount*. Their grandson Charles V brought into the shield the quarterings of Austria, Burgundy, Brabant, and Flanders; the apostolic one-headed eagle gave way to the double headed eagle of the Empire. The shield was encircled with the golden fleece; the Ragged Staff of Burgundy and the pillars of Hercules were added as Supporters, which are of rare occurrence in Spanish heraldry, and are in fact very much the fancy of English seal engravers. The imperial eagle was discontinued by Philip II when the Empire reverted to the Austrian branch. He added the arms of Portugal and of Flanders, impaling Tyrol. The Bourbon Philip V introduced the 3 Fleurs de lis of France on an escutcheon of pretence.—*Quarterly Review*, June, 1838.

* All history testifies that kingdoms and empires have been com-

at any time therefore by the heads of clans or tribes alone must have been as numerous as the coats of arms borne by the nobility of Europe at the present day: but at the time of Henry the Fowler at least, that is in the 10th century, it appears that armorial bearings were used by *all* who could prove that their ancestors bore them for four generations.

Distinctions may be drawn between the objects delineated on shields, banners, seals, and signet-rings: but it would be quibbling to refuse an heraldic character comprehensively speaking to any device or symbolical figure*

posed of an aggregation of clans and tribes, as it does that when a consolidated state or empire was broken up, it again resolved itself into a number of independent principalities of greater or less extent.

On Chingtang, the founder of the dynasty, ascending the throne of the empire of China B.C. 1743, no fewer than 3000 nobles resorted to his court, the greater part of whom presided over petty kingdoms or states. (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, i. 84; art. on Ancient Chinese Vases.)

A Durbar held at Delhi by Sir John Lawrence a few years ago was attended by 600 native princes.

Many facts tend to prove that in very early times Egypt was divided into independent sovereignties. Some authors expressly refer to contemporary princes. In the neighbourhood of Syria no less than 31 kings were expelled by Joshua from the small territory occupied by the Israelites west of Jordan (Joshua xii. 24).—Wathen's *Arts and Antiquities of Egypt*.

* The flippant sneer in the following passage from the article "Heraldry" in Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* is evidently intended to discredit the heraldic character of ancient devices: "The dove of the Assyrians is according to all the interpreters of the Scriptures a figure of Semiramis. Yet this same dove is with Pierius an hieroglyphic, with Alicatus an emblem, with Bargagli a device, with Caussin a symbol, and with M. de la Colombière, a coat of arms!" But what matter these verbal differences when the character and purport of the thing intended are obvious? "This dove" has borne a conspicuous part in the heraldry of mediæval and modern times. It is doubtless the bird exhibited on many regal seals, and many feminine ones, and like the star and crescent seen also on these, has probably been handed down from an Assyrian epoch with a religious significance long since forgotten or misconceived. It is probably the bird, four of which occur with a cross as a legionary ensign of Constantine, and which furnished the pattern for the Coins of Edward the Confessor and Stephen (p. 156) and the martlet is probably its modern heraldic equivalent.

The crest, badge and cognizance of Heraldry have each definite

represented in any of these ways, or as a crest, that is intended and exhibited as a personal, family, or national emblem. Great stress is laid by heraldic writers on what is called a "truly heraldic figure," and definitions only arising and necessary when the modes of armorial display were multiplied, are made to apply with a narrow technicality to periods and countries where probably he-

meanings and are chiefly *taken from the coat of arms*. Thus the badge of Hungerford, a golden garb, was taken from the arms of their ancestor Peverell, who bore *azure three garbs or*. See an instructive chapter on Badges, etc. in Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, as also a valuable article on "Banners, Standards and Badges, temp. Henry VIII" in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* for March 1835, (pp. 49-76) from which the following is an extract:—

"The use on seals of an heraldic figure distinct from the arms or crest, is extremely common at a very early date, and appears to have been generally used for the purpose of showing the descent or affinity of the bearer to other families, as the annulet of Vipont used by Clifford, and the garb of Chester by Lacy, afterwards shown by quartering the whole arms of heiresses with the paternal coat. Sometimes the badges were punning allusions to the bearer's name, as the long sword of Longespee, and the *plantagenista* of Plantagenet. In the reign of King Edward the third, family badges were used with profusion to decorate the dresses, caparisons, furniture, and utensils; and although the tournaments sometimes presented a device fancifully adopted for the particular ceremony, still the principal houses, in imitation of the royal family, had a distinctive mark for their retainers, which was no doubt at that time as well or better known than the personal arms or crest of their Lord."

Five hundred years ago a man not entitled to a coat of arms would not publicly exhibit one [as at the present day] nor impress one on his seal. Its unlicensed use would expose him not only to punishment, but to popular derision. Accordingly, if in trade, he used his merchant's mark, or if not of gentle blood, he used a *Devise*.

But these devices of multifarious kinds, whether religious or personally allusive, or emblematic of the owner's tastes or character, or of some incident in his career, were not only used by those not entitled to coat-armour, but simultaneously with it by those who were; and the two were not convertible; they were distinct in use and origin. "It has been supposed" remark Mr. Way and Mr. Walford, in an article on Seals in vol. v of the *Archæological Journal*, "that the birds, animals, flowers, etc. which appear on seals late in this period (12th century) were on the introduction of heraldry adopted by the individuals who had borne them, as part of their armorial ensigns; but a careful examination of a number of examples shows that such was not the fact; armorial bearings on the

raldry was never carried to the same pitch of refinement and diversity as amongst the English in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, when the especial characteristics of modern heraldry took the defined forms of Coat of arms, Crest, Supporters, Impalements, Quarterings, Motto, Badge and Cognizance. Even in the palmy days of armorial display, allegorical representations (which occur amongst Welch coats) Letters of the Alphabet, and other unusual objects depicted on the shield, were considered proper "coats of arms."*

seals of the same persons are generally composed of heraldic charges wholly different."

Examples of devices used by those who bore coat armour abound. The family of Falconer or Michelgrove (who bore, quarterly a falcon over all) testified their love of field sports by sealing with the device of a hound couchant, surmounted with the word Michelgrove. (Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*, p. 75.) The family of Newdigate of Newdigate co. Surrey, of knightly rank, sealed with two different devices, the one of inexplicable meaning, the other a rebus on the name. A deed of William de Newdegate, 1328, has an oval seal containing four acorns arranged in the form of a cross with the legend "S. Will'i de Newdegate." Thomas Newdegate, in 1496, uses a small round seal with the letters "nu" over the representation of a gate, between the portals of which is the letter D; an imperfect rebus however as the whole is not pictorial.—*Herald and Genealogist*, January, 1868; art. "Fanciful and Imaginary Armory," p. 61.

* It is not improbable that a part, and that the most ancient, of Welch heraldry is an inheritance from the British Romans. As the *Saturday Review* remarks (June 15, 1861) "Mr. Wright certainly produces evidence that Wales was much more thoroughly Romanized than is commonly supposed." Some of the shields of the oldest Welch families have very different representations from those of the Normans. Many of them are what may be termed legendary pictures, as a wolf issuing from a cave, a cradle under a tree, with a child guarded by a goat, etc. These it will be seen have a close resemblance in their character to some of the bearings of the Greeks and Romans.

"German blazonry employs even a still greater number of animals of all sorts than our own; and they are usually disposed after a manner which shocks the eye of an English herald; as for example foxes talking to a crow in a tree, wolves looking in at a window, hares holding a conclave,—seeming in truth more like illustrations from Æsop's fables, or the odd representations sometimes seen on country sign posts of a "goose and gridiron" "cat and fiddle" etc.

But to return to the question, what is a "connecting link"? It may be to join discordant things or homogeneous ones. The phrase is generally used as signifying that which unites a preceding with a succeeding *series*. There could be no "connecting link" for example between the civilization of Ancient China and that of the Roman Empire, for there was no tie or sequence between the two. But the feudal system was the "connecting link" with the civilization of the Roman Empire and that of modern Europe. Here there was a succession, an intermixture, a fusion of ideas and customs. And this general characteristic applies to the particular custom of warlike and family ensigns. The European blazonry, as we know it, of the 13th century, is an embodiment of the devices of the progenitors in race, and the predecessors in territories, of the European peoples of that period. It is an unbroken stream, receiving accessions from tributaries here and there, whilst some issuing rills may have altogether dried up. This stream that has flowed from the earliest times may, like a great Equatorial river, be undiscoverable in its origin, and like the Arcadian streams, and the Mole in Surrey, be hidden from view through much of its course, but its current is *continuous*, and therefore unlike two seas that are separated by half a continent, and that have no connection.

To apply and exemplify this metaphorical language to the sequence of heraldic symbols would be to go over ground already traversed: the various arguments and facts in the preceding chapters which tend to show the succession by adoption or inheritance, through generations and in various countries, of warlike and religious emblems, it would be superfluous and tedious again to enumerate.

than the legitimate charges of heraldic escutcheons. We are reminded of an anecdote of Napoleon who while inspecting the quarterings of his illustrious father in law—a perfect Noah's Ark—is said to have remarked silyly "*Parbleu! il y a beaucoup d'animaux dans cette famille-là.*"—*Quarterly Review*, April, 1836,

What then is the "conclusion of the whole matter"? The problem is to ascertain the origin of Heraldry. If a solution is attempted on insufficient data, and that involves assumptions at variance with acknowledged facts, analogies, and established propositions, it is obviously a false one. Such a one I believe that to be which dates the origin of armorial bearings from the 12th century: and its inadmissible conclusions necessarily lead to others, which constitute the proposition that modern Heraldry was in existence at the Norman Conquest, is an inheritance from the ancient Gauls and Germans, and from the nations of antiquity, as directly and in the same sense as the Italian language was derived from the Latin; and this I conceive is proved both deductively and inductively, but above all by that indirect demonstration called by mathematicians a *Reductio ad absurdum*.

Appendix.

ON THE UNITY OR DIVERSITY OF THE ORIGIN OF HERALDIC DEVICES, AND OF ORNAMENTATION.

MR. FERGUSSON, in his *History of Architecture*, gives utterance to this dictum :—

The common instincts implanted by nature in all the varieties of the human race, lead all mankind in certain climates, and at a certain stage of civilization, to do the same thing in the same way, or nearly so, even without any teaching, or previous communication with those who have done so before.

This language, from one who has surveyed the Architecture of every age from China to Peru, and is familiar with its infinite diversities of style, is little in accordance with the facts he has so completely mastered, and which he treats so elaborately in his splendid work. If Mr. Fergusson's proposition were true, not only the forms of Architecture but of Language would be everywhere the same; alike at the commencement of Man's career on the earth, as at every successive stage of his Progress and Existence. Like causes undoubtedly produce like effects. The animal instinct is everywhere and at all times the same, and its impulses have an invariable result. The bird builds its nest, the bee makes honey and forms its cell, in all ages and places in the same manner. All the creatures of one species perform their natural functions in exactly the same

way ; the fish swims, the bird flies, the hare runs, the serpent moves, precisely now as thousands of years ago. The same observation applies to all the animal functions of Man in a state of nature. But from the moment the Mind begins to act, it becomes a mirror that reflects surrounding objects in all their vast variety, and their incessant changes of appearance ; till its accumulated impressions and commingled forms are in no two cases alike, and in most cases are widely different both in their nature and combination. No two *minds* were therefore ever alike ; not even those of two brothers brought up together and living and dying on the same spot ; still less the minds of any two persons of totally different origin, and living in opposite quarters of the globe.

Every thing therefore that distinguishes man from the brute, and is the especial characteristic of his nature,—the product of his mind, the offspring of his thought and reasoning powers, Language, Laws, Religion, Customs, and Arts, have in all times and countries been as diversified and multifarious, and as perpetually changing, as the infinite natural productions and forms which beautify or vary the face of the physical globe.

Yet the marvellous progress that the mind of man has made, and the wonderful civilization that he has attained, have arisen not from the minds of the many but of the few : all the great discoveries and inventions which have from time to time given an impetus to the onward progress of the race have been produced at long intervals of time, and after laborious thought ; the few have invented and discovered : the many have followed in the path opened up to them. The imitative principle of our nature in the infancy of our race as now, was by far more active than the inventive principle. Like the centre of a revolving body as compared with its circumference, the latter is comparatively at rest. The simplest arts of life must have been acquired by imitation. Man was led to—

“ Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield ;
Learn from the beasts the physic of the field :
His art of building from the bee receive :
Learn of the mole to plough, the worm to weave ;
Learn of the little nautilus to sail,
Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.”

If in modern times, as we know, most of the inventions of

which the civilized man of the present day enjoys the benefit, sprang up each in one spot or country, and from one mind, and did not arise simultaneously in many lands, we may be pretty certain that the analogy will apply to the infancy of man ; and that the simplest weapons of war and processes of art, were each the productions of some one inventive genius. And as every historical discovery has given a superiority of some kind to the race amongst whom it was made, so in like manner, in the pre-historic period, any useful invention must have given a great advantage to the people to whom it was first made known.

The primæval man could have had no other weapon of attack or defence than a club and a stone. The invention of the sling, the bow and arrow, and the flint-headed lance, must have given a great superiority to those who were made acquainted with their use. When once these inventions were made they must have spread, and until they became universal, the people, ignorant of their use must in any contest have been beaten, just as savages of the present day with their rude weapons of the bow and the spear, succumb to the employment of fire arms. As other inventions succeeded each other, and gave the people first acquainted with them an advantage, there must soon have existed on the face of the globe a variety of races who at the same time were in different degrees removed from the helpless natural state of man. And all history records this simultaneous existence of nations in widely different stages of civilization—of this partial and gradual diffusion of inventions and discoveries.

If this be not the true theory of the origin and progress of discovery—if the opposite of this be true—then we should find inventions radiating from independent centres ; how numerous, depends on the extent to which mankind were spread over the globe at any given or assumed period. The consequences must have been a much more rapid advance of civilization and the arts of life than has actually taken place ; a greater resemblance throughout the world than has ever existed at any one time in language, religion, manners, and customs ; the emergence of every race and people by nearly equal steps of progression from a barbarous and savage state, and their present attainment in co-ordinate degrees of the highest civilization compatible with the modifying influences of climate and geographical position.

But the known facts of the case are not favourable to this alternative theory. In modern or in recent times savages have been found whose condition is scarcely a grade beyond that of monkeys and parrots; who have no clothing, no weapon save a club, whose speech is a mere jabbering of uncouth sounds, who have therefore no language, no notion of a God or of a soul, or names for them, who can't count ten, who have no moral ideas, whose dwellings are caves, and whose subsistence is on roots and reptiles and wild fruits. These aborigines must have remained in this state for thousands of years. They could not have degenerated from a superior race. No isolation however complete and long-continued could operate so as to extinguish the elements of a constantly spoken language and destroy the knowledge of the commonest arts of life when once acquired.*

* The religious notions, the traditions, and many of the arts possessed by many savage tribes, especially of the South-Sea Islanders, must have been derivative. These tribes must be descended from remnants of more civilized and superior races, from whom they have been cut off by geological changes that left them in a state of complete isolation. And probably alterations in the relative positions of land and water on the face of the globe may have caused the great variety and dispersion of races, by keeping branches of the same stock asunder without any intercommunication for thousands of years; thus allowing time for a great degeneracy to take place on the one hand, and on the other for the growth of new habits, character, and physical conformation. If the sandy plains of Central Asia, and the Great Desert Sahara of Africa, are upheaved beds of former seas, as is thought,—if Australia and the islands of the South Pacific Ocean, if the West Indian islands and Ireland are remains of vast continents,—such great changes of the earth's surface are sufficient to account for the extraordinary phenomena to be met with in Ethnology.

Physical Geography, however, will explain the cotemporary existence now as always of civilized and semi-barbarous races. The inhabitants of mountainous districts are generally inferior in civilization, though often superior in physical strength and the simple virtues, to those of neighbouring plains; and are generally of an earlier race. This is accounted for; as a conquering people occupy a new country, that portion which prefers independence to subjugation, flee to the mountains and waste places, where there is no temptation to pursue them, and they are therefore left unmolested. An inhospitable soil and remote corners of the earth in the same manner are the resort of a weaker pushed on by a stronger race; and there it remains for centuries in a stationary condition, receiving none of the benefits of civilized races, because never coming in contact with them. Accordingly the Esquimaux, the Lapps, the Finns, and the other denizens of Arctic regions are in the most primitive state.

We have cases, then, in many parts of the globe where whole communities have lived since the first appearance of beings in the form of man on the earth, after the manner of herds of wild cattle, without, in that long interval, having improved a single faculty, or given birth to the simplest or rudest invention of common life.

What, then, were the conditions and first beginnings of man's emergence from a state of nature? The conditions must evidently have been much more favourable than those under which lived for such a vast period the communities just spoken of. A genial climate, a productive soil, abundance of animals and fruits for food, the existence of plants that could be used for textile purposes, the presence of flints or of some mineral, a numerous population, occupying the sea-coast, the river-side, and mountain-slopes, with constant intercommunication,—all these circumstances would combine, by the diversity of their appliances and their influences, to sharpen man's wits, to stimulate his invention, to quicken his imagination, and eventually, in the lapse of ages, to produce first, a general advance, however slight, in intellectual capacity, and afterwards some one semi-barbarous genius who might construct a flint-edged hatchet, or invent the bow and arrow, build a log-hut, make a net, weave a mat, or discover how to produce fire. For such analogous influences and conditions, we know historically, have produced the two finest races of their respective eras the world has ever seen—who had attained the highest development of which man's mixed nature is capable—the Greeks of the ancient world, and the Normans of the modern. This production, from the co-operation of a variety of causes, of a superior race, acts as a powerful lever to raise immensely all those peoples who are impressed with their genius, and come within reach of their influence. And this elevation, in its turn, gives birth to new ideas, and to fresh discoveries, by developing dormant faculties, by extending and enlarging existing powers, and increasing the general intelligence and capacities of men.

In this way, then, by a slow and gradual process — by a succession of steps, built laboriously one upon the other—by the combination of agencies generated by various climates, and by different peoples, has the mass of mankind, through incalculable periods of time, been slowly lifted up to its present

position of mastery and dominion. But this progression has not been constant and unvarying; it has received frequent checks; and often, like the tide, receded, but, like the waves of the sea, has again advanced with redoubled force. The aggregation of states and the formation of an empire, which is equivalent to and the condition of the production of a particular phase of civilization, and sometimes the voluntary or enforced isolation of a peculiar people, have at different eras, and in different parts of the world, accomplished some special purpose.*

* Dr. Temple's admirable essay on the "Education of the World" in *Essays and Reviews*, furnishes some excellent illustrations of the remark in the text. It would occupy too much space to quote them with the context: they are therefore necessarily disjointed and unconnected:—

It is not difficult to trace the chief elements of civilization which we owe to each of the four [divisions, Rome, Greece, Asia, and Judæa]. Rome contributed her admirable spirit of order and organization. To her had been given the genius of government. She had been trained to it by centuries of difficult and tumultuous history. * * That which Religion was to the Jew, Law was to the Roman. And Law was the lesson which Rome was intended to teach to the world. * * To Rome we owe the forms of local government which in England have saved liberty, and elsewhere have mitigated despotism. Justinian's laws have penetrated into all modern legislation, and almost all improvements bring us only nearer to his code. Much of the spirit of modern politics came from Greece; much from the woods of Germany. But the skeleton and frame-work is almost entirely Roman. * *

To Greece was entrusted the cultivation of the reason and the taste. Her gift to mankind has been science and art. There was little in her temper of the spirit of reverence. Her morality and her religion did not spring from the conscience. Her gods were the creatures of imagination, not of spiritual need. Her highest idea was not holiness, as with the Hebrews, nor law as with the Romans, but Beauty. * * To the Greeks we owe the logic which has ruled the minds of all thinkers since. All our natural and physical science really begins with the Greeks, and indeed would have been impossible had not Greece taught men how to reason. * * To the Greeks we owe all modern literature. For though there is other literature even older than the Greek, the Asiatic for instance, and the Hebrew, yet we did not learn this lesson from them. * *

Asia sought her inspiration in rest. She learned to fix her thoughts on another world, and was disciplined to check by her silent protest the over-earthly, over-practical tendency of the Western nations. * * The Western nations are always tempted to make reason not only supreme but despotic, and dislike to acknowledge mysteries even in religion. They are inclined to confine all

Empires have gone through the stages of infancy, a vigorous life, and decay; whilst the seeds generated by dissolution, have given birth to new forms of life, to improved races, to purified ideas, to an increased development of the intellectual part of man's nature; and his ferocious and merely animal instincts, whose sole indulgence places him on a level with the brutes that perish, have been proportionately mitigated and subdued.

This view, therefore, of Man's Progress is opposed to the abstract notions noticed at the commencement of this chapter. The experience of history teaches us that men *do not* even "in certain climates, and at a certain stage of civilization," "do the same thing in the same way." Whatever may have been the respective origin of the Chinese and the Egyptians—whether one people was an off-shoot of the other, or, what is more probable, both came of one stock, their climate and their civilization seem to have been at a given period on a par; yet their architecture, their hieroglyphics, and many other of their characteristics, were widely different. The stage at which the cuneiform characters of the Persians and Assyrians were invented, was probably about the same stage of progress as that which witnessed the birth amongst other peoples of hieroglyphical and alphabetical characters. Yet how is it that such simple marks were thought of and formed into a system by one people alone? How is it that the simple idea of the circular arch in building was not known or applied till 600 years B. C., and then only partially, and in two countries—Etruria and Egypt? How is it that it was not known, or if known, not practised by the Greeks at all? How is it that the pointed arch, or the Gothic style of architecture, was not discovered earlier, and was discovered, or first arose, in a stage of civilization, that, though advanced in moral and religious ideas, was inferior in all essendoctrines within the limits of spiritual utility, and to refuse to listen to dim voices and whispers from within, those instincts of doubt and reverence and awe, which yet are in their place and degree messages from the depth of our being. Asia supplies the corrective, by perpetually leaning to the mysterious. When left to herself she settles down to baseless dreams, and sometimes to monstrous and revolting fictions. But her influence has never ceased to be felt, and could not be lost without serious damage.

Thus the Hebrews may be said to have disciplined the human conscience, Rome the human will, Greece the reason and taste, Asia the spiritual imagination.

tial characteristics to the civilization of Greece and Rome? How is it that if all minds are constituted alike, and achieve similar results, that so many different languages have arisen—that different races should have expressed the same ideas and denoted the same objects by such a vast and widely different combination of sounds? How is it that gravitation was not discovered by Aristotle?—that the mariner's compass, the art of printing, and the manufacture of a watch, were not the discoveries of the most intellectual people of antiquity—the active-minded, the imaginative, the inventive Greeks?

Reflection and observation give answers to these questions. As before remarked, no two minds were ever alike; or whatever resemblance there may at any time be between two minds, the succession of minds exposed to the action of diverse influences, produces the widest divergence, and often the most opposite characteristics. This being so, it may be asked why do we find so great a uniformity as actually exists in the arts of life, in customs and laws, and religious ideas? Simply because the imitative faculty in man as previously noticed is immeasurably more exercised than the inventive faculty. We follow in the groove cut out for us, as water flows in the channel which it finds open to its course. We act, we think, after a pattern. We follow the guidance of our leaders. We adopt the opinions of the Newspaper and Review; we conform in dress and habits of life to the fashion set before us; except in our own particular province, we cannot each for himself, prove all things, and hold fast that which is good; were that process obligatory, who would be sufficient for these things? The pattern, the example, the idea, is the result of the slow growth of innumerable agencies, that eventually converge to a focus, and culminate in the production in one man's brain of an idea, or a discovery that henceforth becomes the common property, the rich possession of all his fellow creatures.

Of the origin of most of the widely-spread inventions which have been enjoyed by the civilized world from time immemorial, we know nothing but what a dim and mythical tradition has handed down. When and by whom words were organized into language, and a grammar was constructed; when pictorial representations became hieroglyphics and were made to stand for ideas, and above all when the great achievement of an alphabet

was accomplished,—of all or any of this we are entirely ignorant. But we know the history of most modern discoveries,—of printing, of the mariner's compass, of clocks and watches, of fire arms, of the steam engine, of photography, of the electric telegraph, of postage stamps. Each of these discoveries emanated from one mind, though improved and perfected by successive minds, every improvement being in fact a minor and subordinate discovery. Whatever general resemblance there may be between the groups of ideas in many men's minds, on a particular subject, there is always some striking additional element in the notions of the real discoverer who elaborates an idea, who demonstrates a theory, or completes an invention. It is like the difference between two chemical bodies composed of the same ingredients, but in different proportions, or with the presence of a new element: the respective combinations have properties of an entirely different nature.

If we analyse ordinary conversation, and written composition, we shall find it composed of phrases and combinations of words that we have been taught or have learned. A happy phrase, the expression of a rare conjunction of ideas, is an *invention*, and in the exact form given by one author is rarely if ever presented by a cotemporary and independent writer.* Thoughts and expressions that are not quite cotemporary are often found to be plagiarisms, and an entirely new idea or phrase is one of the inventions, not very common in literature. No two English poets were perhaps so remarkable for original phraseology as Shakspeare and Pope; none have so happily expressed common ideas, and none are so constantly quoted, or whose terse and pregnant aphorisms have entered so largely into familiar discourse. As in language so in the arts. We follow models and

* In the *Saturday Review* of a few months since, there appeared an article entitled "The Girl of the Period," which has attained much celebrity. The phrase has given a title to songs and dramatic pieces, and is used in writing and speech "to point a moral or adorn a tale." It has become part and parcel of familiar discourse, like a phrase of Shakspeare. Probably before this article appeared this particular phrase would not be found in the whole body of English literature: but now like many other original collocation of words, as Brougham's "The Schoolmaster is abroad," Talleyrand's "Après moi le déluge," and Napoleon's adage "C'est le premier pas qui coûte," it has acquired a popularity not confined to the United Kingdom.

patterns. Our clothes, our furniture, our houses are all made pretty much alike : we travel over Europe, and find each country has its type in these matters, all differing from each other.

We are now prepared to consider how the foregoing theories and views bear upon the question of the "unity or diversity of the origin of Heraldic Devices and of Ornamentation." But primarily, this question depends upon the more general question of the unity or diversity of the Origin of Mankind. This wider enquiry however is yet necessarily in an inchoate state ; for the conclusions of Philology and Ethnology, on which it depends, are uncertain and indeterminate, and probably for generations are likely to remain so. Still as far as those sciences have advanced—and they have advanced very considerably and are making rapid strides—the preponderance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the unity of the origin of Mankind.* And this view is strongly borne out by the important testimony of Analogy. Mr. Darwin in his work on the *Origin of Species* (p. 542) thus sums up his opinion on the subject : "Finally the several classes of facts which have been considered in this chapter seem to me to proclaim so plainly that the innumerable species, genera, and families of organized beings with which this world is peopled, have all descended, each within its own class or group, from common parents, and have all been modified in the course of descent, that I should without hesitation adopt this view, even if it were unsupported by other facts or arguments."

If then Language, Religion, Laws, Customs and the Arts, are but developments of a few primordial germs and ideas,

* The scholars who are the best competent to give an opinion as to the final results of Comparative Philology believe that all researches are tending more and more to the establishment of the common origin of language. * * * Chevalier Bunsen's great discovery, stated in his own words, is that the Egyptian and perhaps the African man in general, is a scion of the Asiatic stock, which gradually degenerated into the African type. * * * According to his view, Egypt is a colony which started from the central plains of Asia, before mankind was divided into the families of Shem and Japhet. * * * Egyptological discoveries give a considerable support to the hypothesis of the original unity of mankind and of a common origin of all languages on the globe.—*Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1851, Art. "Comparative Philology."

there seems no reason *primâ facie*, why the particular custom of heraldic devices, and their multifarious combinations of a few primitive elements, should have been produced independently instead of from a common centre. If groups of languages are but developments of a few primitive roots, these roots must have originated in one country and amongst one people.* Here we have an exact parallel, or at least a close analogy to the case of the origin of heraldic devices, on the supposition that they proceeded from one source. We have only to entertain the reasonable hypothesis that at a particular epoch in man's history a particular race had so far advanced above their fellow-creatures in the arts of life, as to be acquainted with other than the rudest weapons of attack and defence—to be divided into tribes and families—to have had some experience of systematic warfare—and to be raised above the condition of the mere animal savage—we have only to assume this natural state of things to account for the origin under such circumstances of the elements of Heraldry; and as in the case of the Aryan race, that this people or a portion of them went forth over the face of the globe “conquering and to conquer” and imparted their nascent civilization and customs to the inferior races whom they subdued, established them on unoccupied territories, or planted and developed them in the midst of subjugated races.† Such would

* If it can be proved that the words for many of the arts belonging to an early state of civilization are the same in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and German, it follows that the Aryan nations knew these arts before they separated, and that they carried the germs of civilization from a common centre, on one side into India, and on the other side into Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and the rest of Europe. (*Ibid.*)

† An examination of Aryan languages teaches us that the ideas of religion, justice, and law, the practice of agriculture with fixed habitations, the recognition of property, marriage, and kindred, long preceded the dawn even of traditional history among the ancestors of the Hindoo and Greek, the Tartar and the Persian.—*Edinburgh Review*, January, 1867, p. 109.

The earth is peopled rapidly. It is conceivable, indeed probable, that a succession of races of animated beings, gradually approaching the type of humanity, was spread over the face of the habitable globe, ages before the Aryan race just mentioned had emerged under favourable circumstances as an improved type from the inferior peoples by whom they were surrounded. The late Mr. Christy—a competent judge—remarks in answer to the question, When was the reindeer period in the south of France, and what is its antiquity?

be only an analogous case to many that history records. It would only resemble the conquest of England by the Romans, of the Romanized Britons by the Saxons and Danes, and of the Anglo-Saxons by the Normans : and the infusion of the civilization of each conquering people amongst the conquered.

This hypothesis clearly involves, as just remarked, the pre-existence and use, amongst this migrating and colonizing race, of the greater part of the elementary forms or objects of Heraldry. Wherever this race settled they would carry with them and transmit their tribal devices and distinctions. As new tribes or subdivisions of old ones were formed, modifications of ancestral ensigns, or combinations of two or more pre-existing ones, or entirely new emblems, would be adopted ; of course in these cases such secondary and derivative figures might in widely-separated countries have an independent origin, though new emblems would probably be ethnographically distinctive, as representing some bird or animal peculiar to the country producing it. The case is paralleled by modern European blazonry, where we have abundant evidence of combinations formed of heraldic emblems in different countries that are identical, and that arose without any inter-communication : just as after once the pointed arch was first introduced in architecture, and tracery work filled a window, innumerable resembling forms which result from combined curves and straight lines, would be produced by different minds having no correspondence, and not borrowing one from another. But this is a case of the simplest character, resembling the evolutions of geometrical problems, which in all minds must necessarily be the same process, and lead to the same results.* Undoubtedly, but for the hereditary principle and the feeling of reverence implanted in the human breast for what has been long established and become sacred and honoured, heraldic ensigns composed of geometrical forms might have originated independently in

“It is of higher antiquity than the Kjökken möddings of Denmark, and the lacustrine dwellings of Switzerland, and very certainly than the whole group of so-called Celtic and Cromlech remains.”

* There are no truths in the whole range of the pure mathematics which might not by possibility have been discovered and systematised by one deprived of sight and touch, or immured in a dark chamber, without the use of a single material object.—Lord Brougham’s *Discourse of Natural Theology*, p. 70.

many countries and at different eras : but whilst such forms for such a purpose are accounted for in an early stage of man's history, at a later period they would never have been adopted for emblematical purposes, for which they are not at all suitable, when the whole animal kingdom and a host of inanimate objects furnished the means of symbolical expression.

We will now inquire how far these views are supported by the facts recorded in preceding chapters of this work. In addition to the facts mentioned at pages 116 and 117, testifying to the entire absence of certain heraldic emblems amongst certain peoples, and their prevalence with others, we find the remarkable fact that animals in countries which produce them are not used as heraldic devices, whilst others which are found in every soil are not generally employed as such. Thus the lion is a prevalent bearing in Northern Europe, where the animal is unknown, and the bear, which is indigenous, is a rare ensign. Again, although the serpent is rare except in warm countries, its veneration is almost universal; and in Ireland where it is entirely absent as a living reptile its symbolical estimation in early periods prevailed throughout the land. In these cases then heraldry could not have been of aboriginal growth, but must have been transplanted. In a preceding chapter it has been shown that if modern heraldry arose *de novo* in the 12th century, we should reasonably expect to find every symbolical animal and bird adopted as a device by not one but every nation of Europe : whereas we find, as in ancient times, that certain devices were prevalent in certain countries only. This, *primâ facie*, identifies particular emblems with particular races ; and moreover, to account for the invariable connexion or correspondence between the two, implies an hereditary transmission from a very remote period, from a period in fact when Heraldry first originated, and each tribe adopted a different ensign or pattern. We thus in Heraldry as in Philology, and according to Mr. Fergusson's opinion, in Architecture (see p. 100), arrive at the discovery of a clue to trace the migrations of Races and Peoples. We can track the progress and settlement of Nations by their tribal and national emblems, as evidenced by coins and other and earlier monuments, as surely as we can follow their movements by the languages they spoke, or the names they gave to their settlements, and to mountains and rivers, with

this advantage as previously remarked (p. 99) that the forms of Heraldry as compared with those of language are well defined, and almost invariable in every country and age.

Ornamentation sprang out of or is in many cases identified with Heraldry. At page 72 I have attempted to show that all the infinite forms of the pre-Christian cross had their origin in the Phallus, one ultimate form of which was the letter T, which it will be seen is an element in most of the varieties of the architectural fret ornament.* Most of the mæander and scroll-like patterns are traceable to the convolutions of the serpent's tail, to the annulet or roundel, as typifying the sun, or to the varied patterns consisting of circles, semicircles, and concentric circles, which as shown in chapter VII. were tribal devices of pre-historic times. The various geometrical patterns occurring in early pottery are identical with heraldic marks, and are shown to have been each peculiar to certain tribes, and many of them are found to have this characteristic as the *totems* of savages (p. 132). The chevron pattern so prominent in Assyrian ornamentation would appear to have been adopted from the resembling bone-work of a feather. Feathers were used by the ancient Mexicans as distinctions of rank, as likewise by the North-American Indians of the present day; and it may be imagined were amongst the earliest ornaments that constituted the head-dress of a warrior chieftain.

There is one ornament rarely found in ancient art that notwithstanding had a high religious significance, viz. the Fleur de

* The phallic worship, indications of which we meet in almost all parts of the earth may, if any custom, be conceived to have sprung up quite independently in many countries (see p. 72). But it would be a remarkable coincidence that its symbol should result in the identical form of the letter T both in the old world and the new, if it did not arise in both instances from intercommunication. The case of common as opposed to independent origin is still stronger in three letters of the alphabet found as ornaments in the most remote corners of the earth: the Z and V symbols are found in Mexico, in Scotland, and in the East. The S ornament is met with in Etruria, in China, in Scotland, on Celtic ornament generally, and probably had a conventional meaning connected with the Serpent. It can scarcely be contended in these cases that remote and unconnected peoples would have independently hit upon such peculiar and by no means obvious symbolical figures as the three letters S, V, and Z.

lis. This was not extensively used till mediæval times, though met with on the crowns and sceptres of the Carolingian kings, and eventually found as the heraldic bearing of their successors. The regard paid to the serpent in Ireland seems to have originated in that country a style of ornamentation that is quite peculiar, that has no parallel in ancient times, and was unknown in other countries except as derived from the Irish. Beautiful specimens of this are given in Mr. Westwood's magnificent work *The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* That work as well as the introduction to Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* contains an able and remarkable article by Mr. Westwood on "Celtic Ornament." How this is characterized by him we have shown by an extract given at page 162. Mr. Westwood then proceeds with an elaborate discussion of its origin. He shows that the MSS. containing examples of this ornament did not copy them from the copies of the Scriptures sent by St. Gregory into this country, for all the most ancient Italian MSS. are entirely destitute of elaborate ornamentation. And the British MSS. "exhibit peculiarities of ornamentation totally at variance with those of all other countries, save only in places where the Irish or Anglo-Saxon missionaries may have introduced their own, or have modified the already existing styles." They were not he says brought over by the Saxon invaders, nor were they derived from Scandinavia or North Germany. As to their connection with Byzantine art, "the ornamentation of St. Sophia exhibits no analogy with our Celtic patterns." Mr. Westwood concludes in these words—"that though the early artists of these islands might have obtained the germ of their familiar styles of ornament from some other than their own natural genius, they had before the beginning of the 8th century, formed several very distinct systems of ornamentation perfectly unlike in their developed state to those of any other country."

Those who have inquired into the origin of ornamentation generally, hold the notion that in its germs and its simplest forms, it is the spontaneous growth of every soil, and one of the earliest developments of art amongst the lowest savages.*

* In the Preface to Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (p. 13) these passages occur:—"Man's earliest ambition is to create. To this feeling must be ascribed the tatooing of the human face and

But we have only to ascertain what is the amount of artistic feeling and invention amongst the lower classes of civilized nations of the present day to be convinced of the unsoundness of this notion. Wherever these classes are left to themselves, or are not influenced by the educated portion of society, they develop tastes of their own. Their amusements, their predilections, their songs, their music, their literature, are all of a different order from those of the middle and higher ranks, and whatever is ornamental that they possess or desire, is not originated amongst themselves. If any amongst them practise any art where ornament is essential, it is learnt from patterns and models produced by a special class of high and refined culture.* What would become of artistic feeling and invention in an island colonized by an unlettered peasantry, unaccompanied by educated men, and having no communication

body resorted to by the savage to increase the impression by which he seeks to strike terror in his enemies or rivals, or to create what appears to him a new beauty. * * The stamping of patterns on the coverings of the body made of skins of animals or other materials would be the first stage towards ornament after the tattooing of the body by an analogous process."

* Those who noticed the behaviour of the working classes in their rambles through the avenues and galleries of the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, will not fail to remember the listless curiosity, the vacant gaze, the insensibility to works of high art, the ignorance of what to admire, and merely a vague sense of bewilderment, and hardly any of appreciation of the vast magnificence amongst which they moved, that pervaded the great majority of them. If the love of beauty and ornament is only feebly felt and developed in the lower stratum of society, whose upper ranks make it a study, and with many of whom it is a passion, and who constantly diffuse its forms in all directions, so that no one can escape its contagious influence, what reason is there for the notion that uneducated savages possess this faculty as innate, like love or fear, and what exercise they manifest of it is self-developed, as Mr. Fergusson says "without any teaching or previous communication" with a cultivated and superior race? This portraiture of the æsthetic tastes of the vast mass of the people, or rather this denial of its existence, may be considered unjust and unfounded. But those who think so should look to facts. Amongst whom is found the love of lake and mountain scenery, for example? Is it amongst the Swiss peasantry, and the boatmen of Windermere? Is it the scenery, or the "outing" and its frolics, and liberty, and picnics, that attracts the thousands of operatives who visit the English lakes? Even of the shoals of wealthy and educated people, who go to the sea side, is it the com-

with a superior race? What *vague* traditions or remembrances of it that would be carried away would speedily die out; it would only be resuscitated or developed *de novo* by the progressive advance of the colony in material well-being; by passing through those stages that have ever been the conditions precedent of intellectual culture, invention, and discovery.*

pany, the fresh breeze, the life of *abandon* and *insouciance*, that are its great charms? or is it the poetical feeling which Byron felt and expressed in these lines?

There is a rapture on the *lonely* shore;
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar.

* In Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (p. 13) occur these remarks: "When Mr. Brierly visited Tongotabu, one of the Friendly Islands, one woman was the designer of all the patterns in use there, and for every new pattern she designed she received as a reward a certain number of yards of cloth. * * * Capt. Cook and other voyagers repeatedly notice the taste and ingenuity of the islanders of the Pacific and South Seas, instancing especially cloths painted in an endless variety of figures, and the fancy displayed in their mats, their basket work, rich carvings, and inlaid shell-work."

Here we have evidently a class set apart whose business and study it is to cultivate such simple artistic knowledge as is necessary to produce the objects mentioned. This taste may either have been evolved in the course of time amongst themselves, acquired by intercommunication, or have been inherited from an ancestry of a higher civilization.

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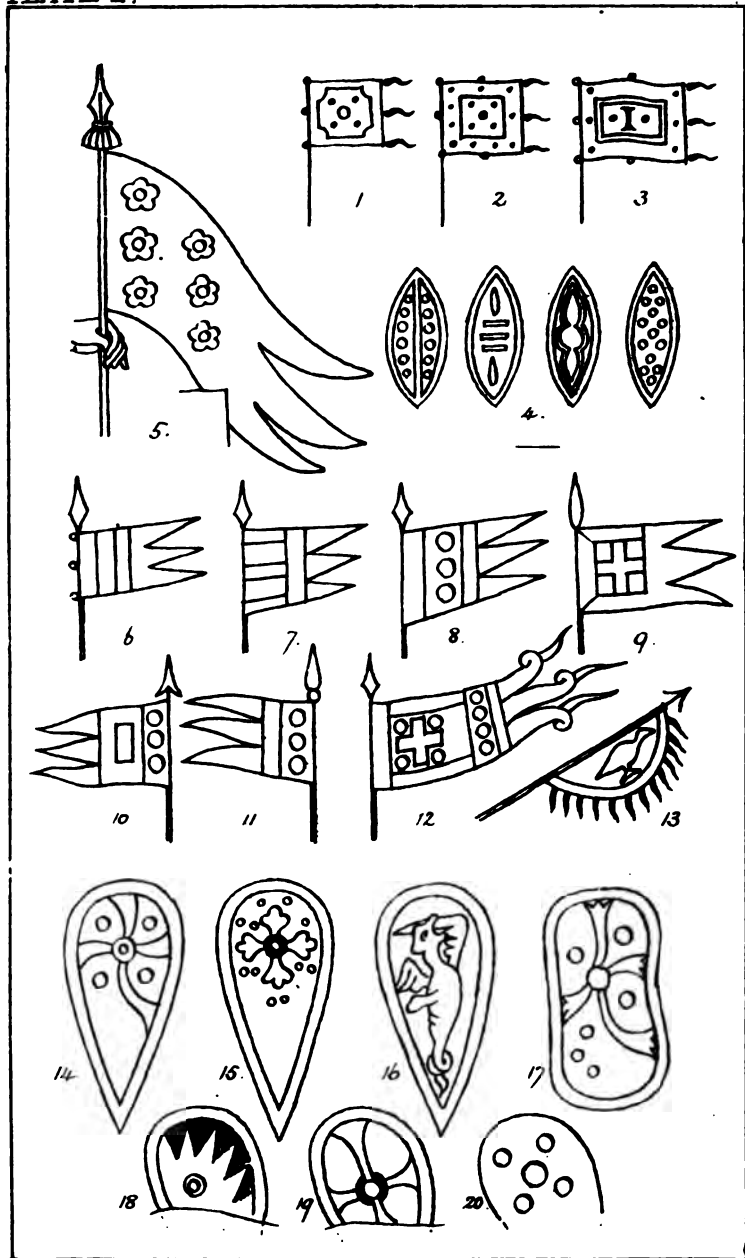


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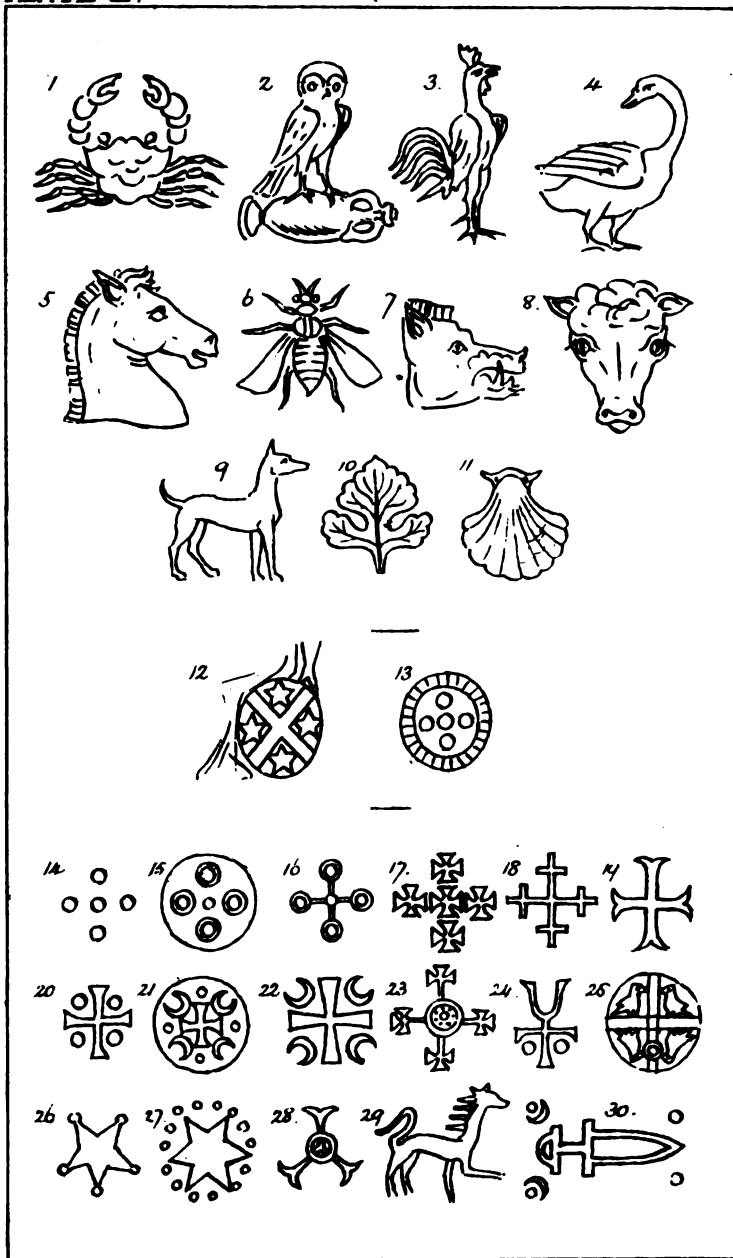


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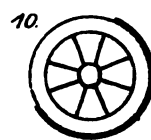
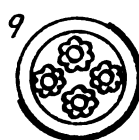
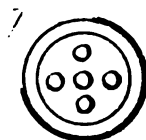
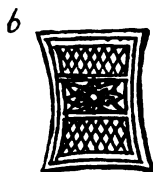
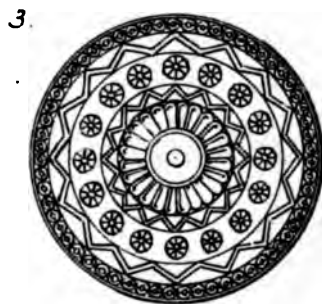
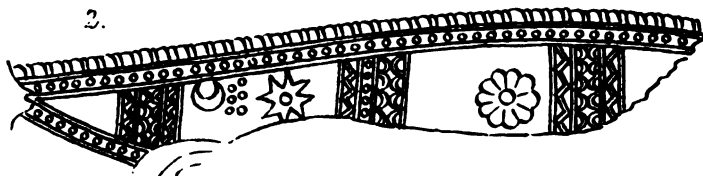
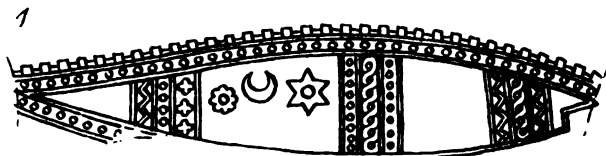
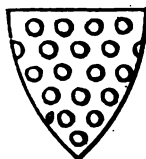
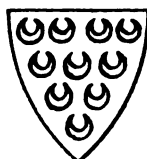
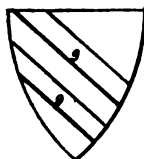


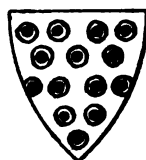
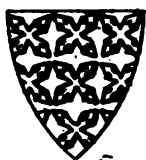
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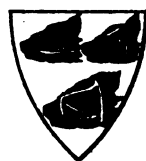
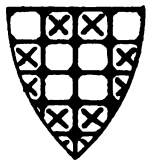
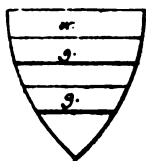
PLATE V.



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6.

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EGYPT.



CHINA.



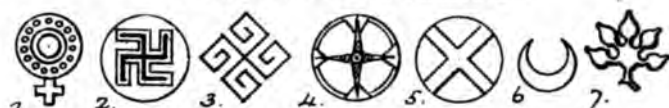
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ASSYRIA.



ASIA MINOR AND GREECE.



ETRURIA AND LATIUM.



CELTIC.



MEXICO.





PLATE VII.

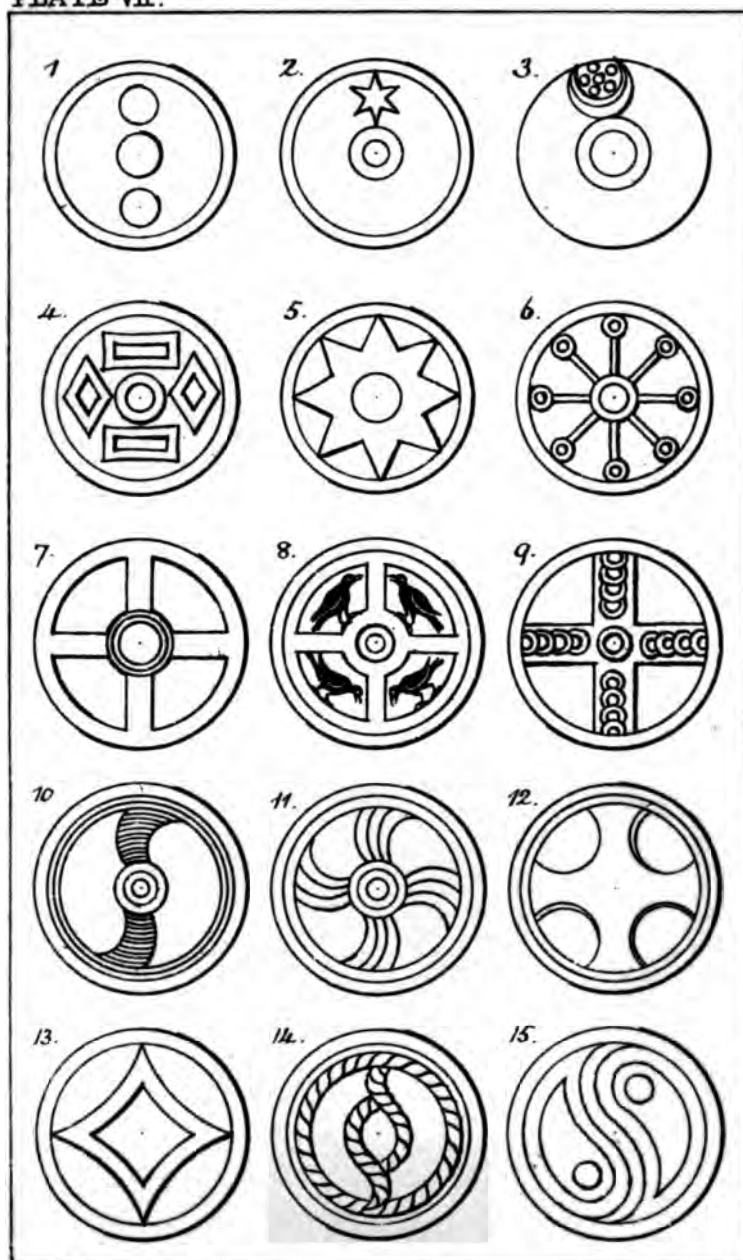


PLATE VIII.



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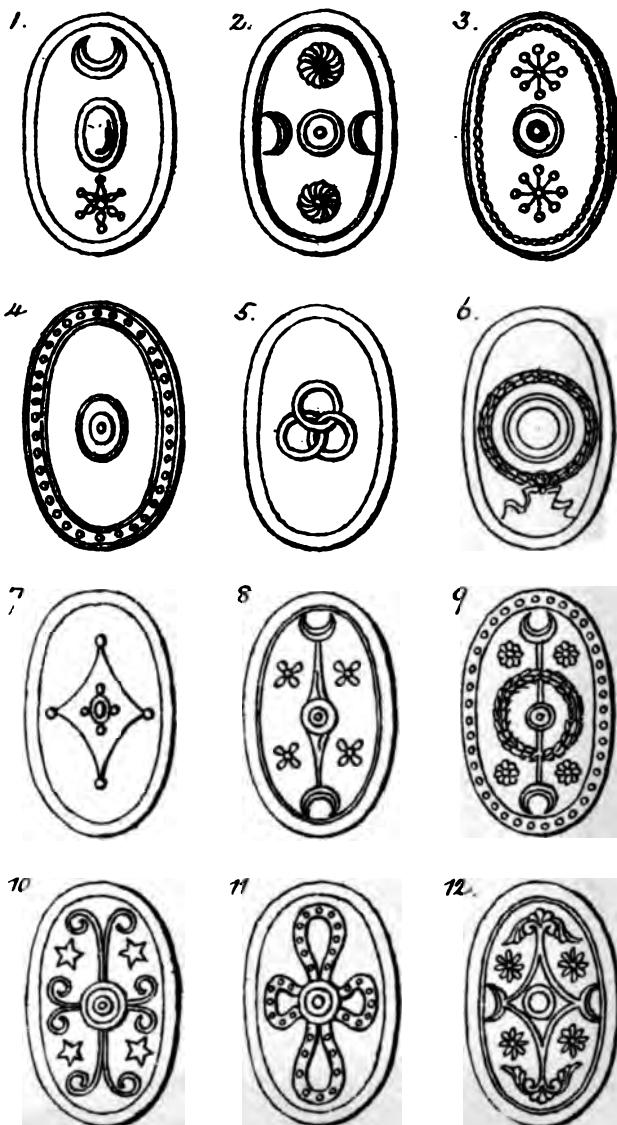


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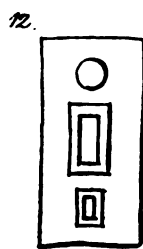
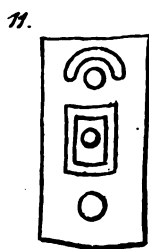
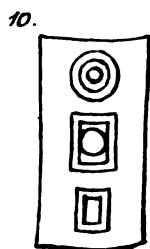
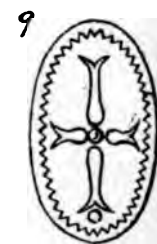
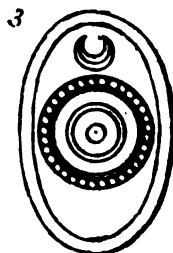
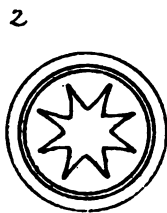
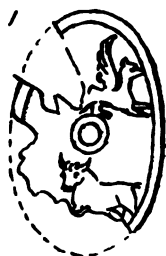




PLATE XI.

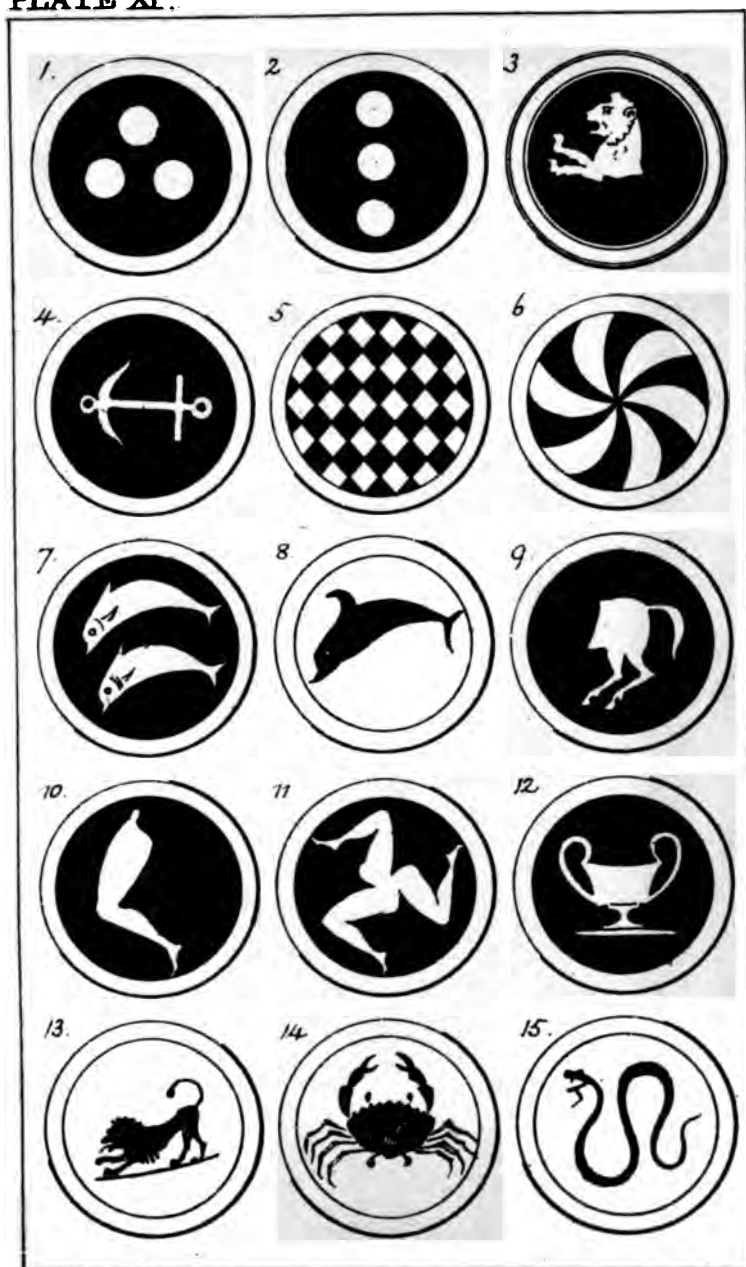




PLATE XII.

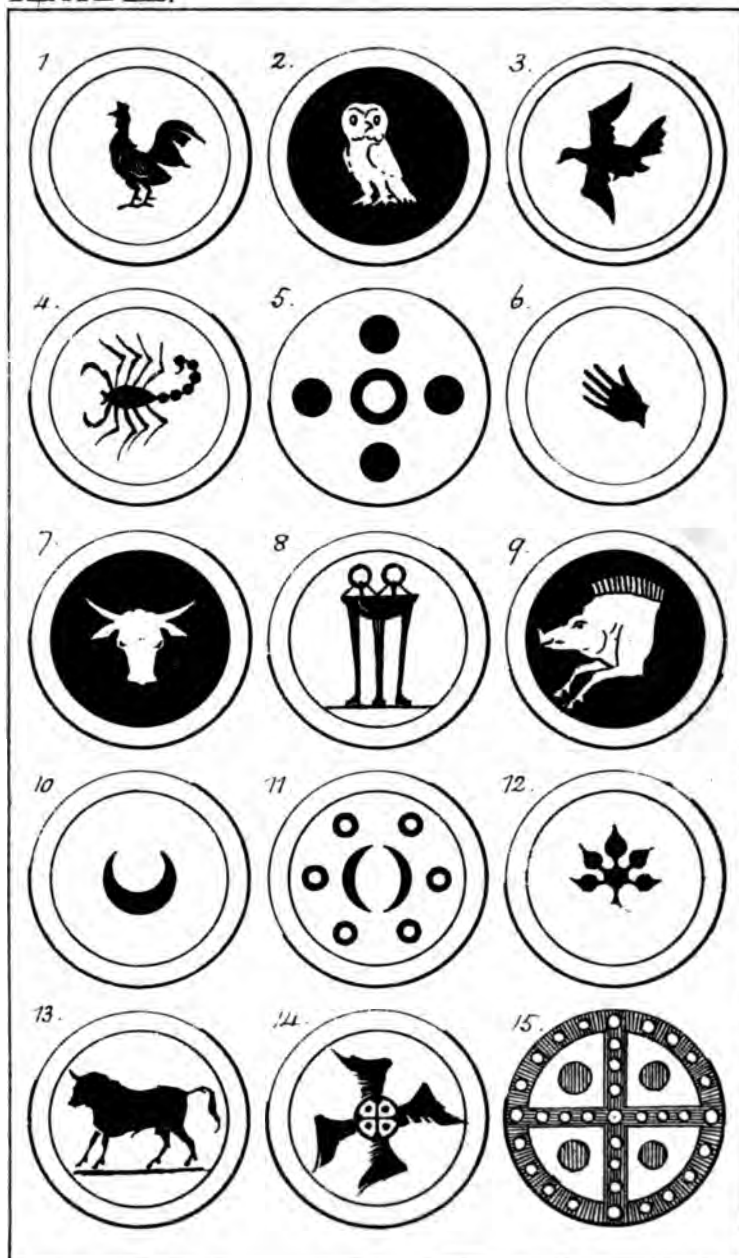




PLATE XIII.

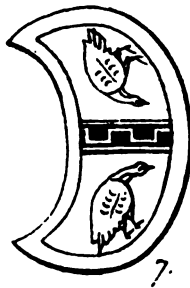
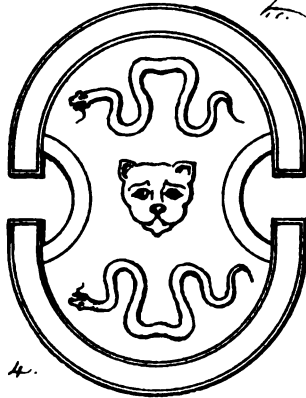




PLATE XIV.

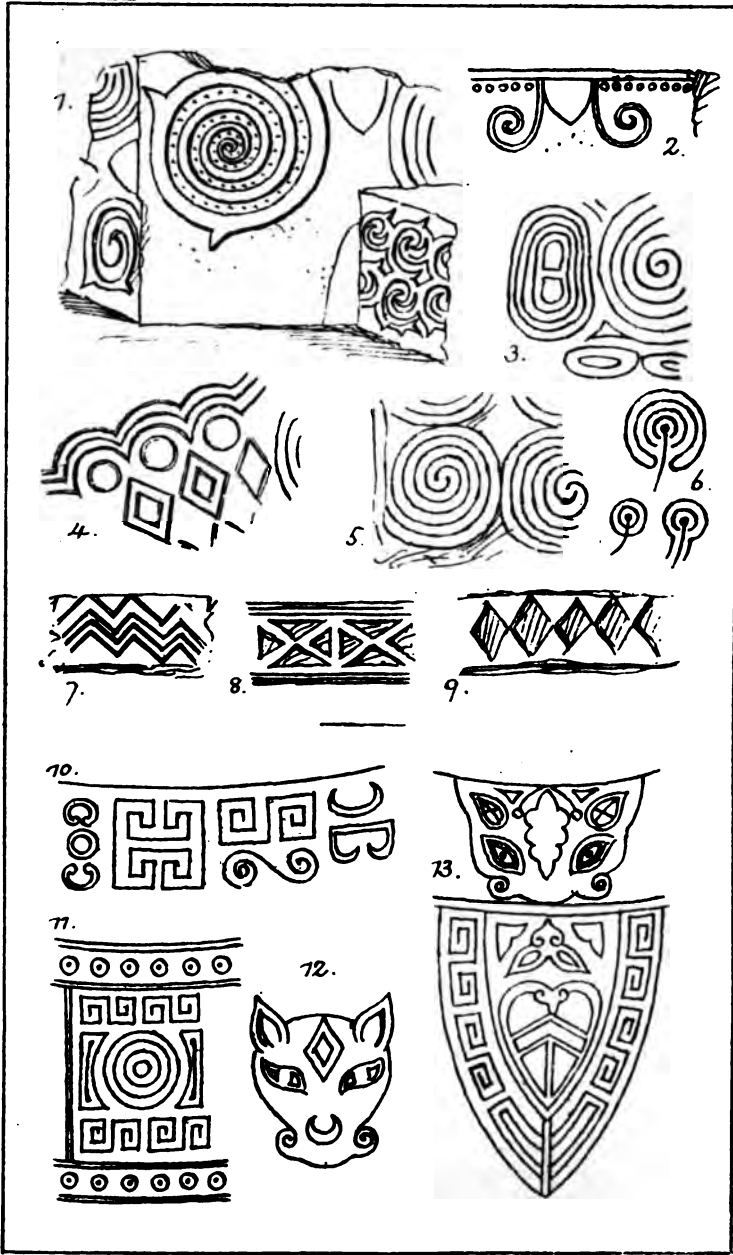
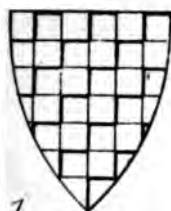




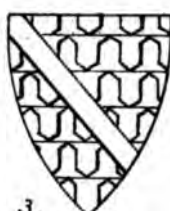
PLATE XV. Arms from Seals. (1150-1200.)



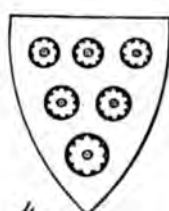
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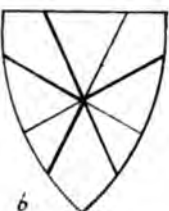
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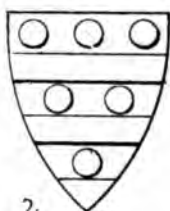
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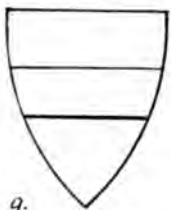
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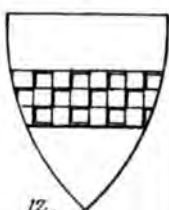
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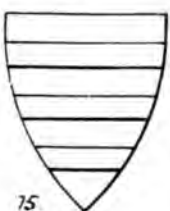
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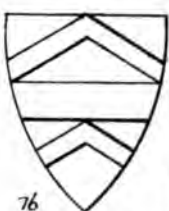
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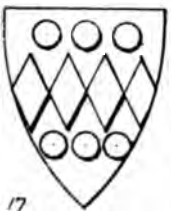
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PLATE XVI. Arms from Seals. (1150-1200.)

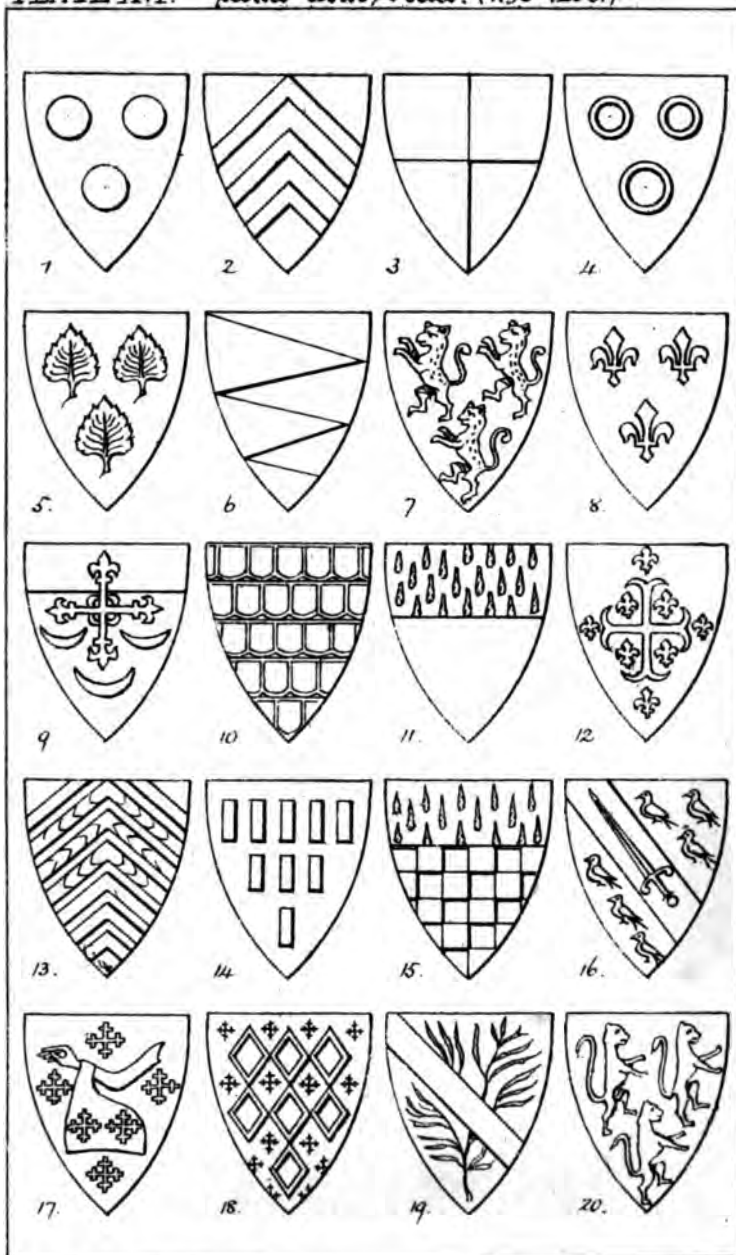


PLATE XVII.



1. ADAM DE BENDENG, A.D. 1225.



2. ROBERT DE ST. JOHN, *circa* 1200.



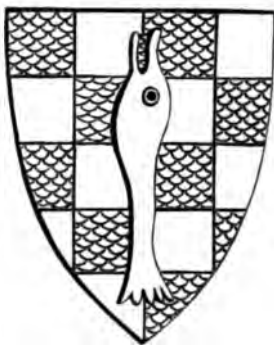
3. MICHAEL DE CANTELU, *circa* 1200.



4. GEFFRY DE BAILEUL, *circa* 1200.



5. WILLIAM DE HEVRE, *circa* 1200.



6. FOBERT DE DOVER, *circa* 1180.



PLATE XIX.

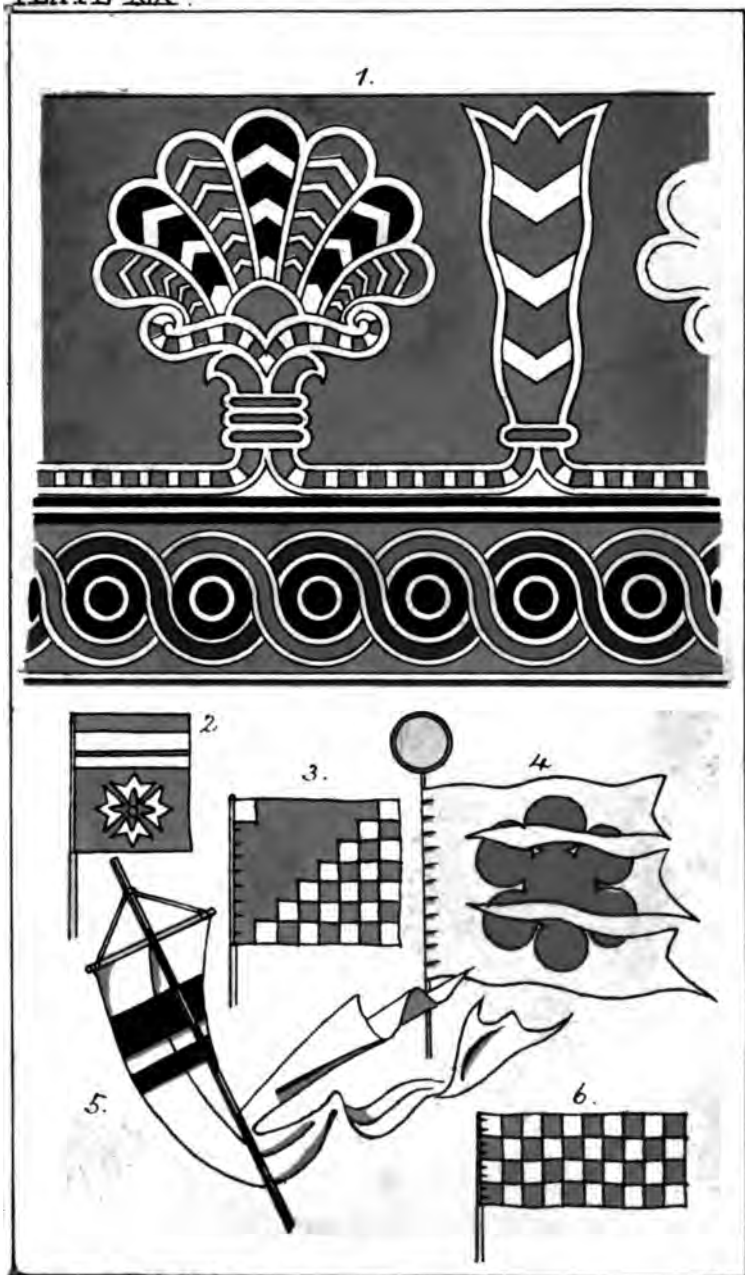
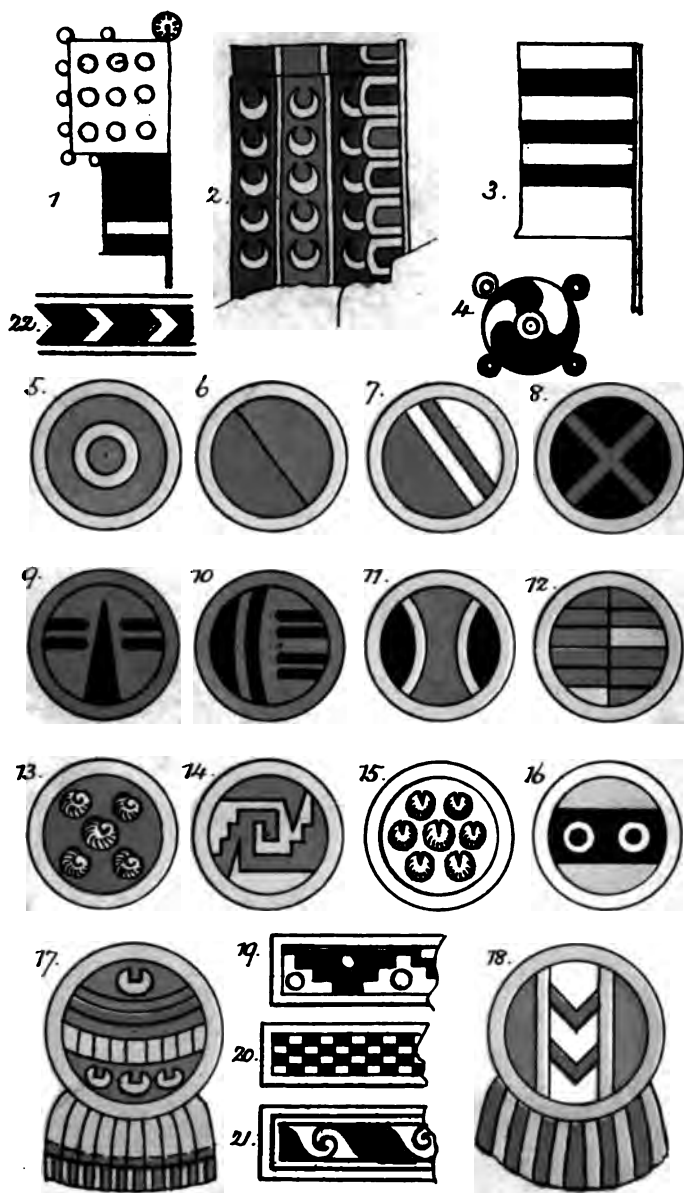




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A

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